THE APOSTLES' CREED

A Vindication of the Apostolic Authorship of the Creed on the lines of Scripture and Tradition, together with some account of its Development and Critical Analysis of its Contents

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND

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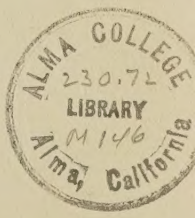
The Sacrifice of the Mass, *The Creed in Sermons*,

Religious Questions of the Day, *etc.*

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY LETTER FROM

THE MOST REV. MONSIGNOR LÉPICIER

SECOND EDITION (revised and enlarged)



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Ἀντὴν δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Ὑιον καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐκ ποίων γραμμάτων ἐχομεν;—St Basil *Lib. de Spirit, Sanct.*, c. 27, n. 67.

Επου τῷ Θεῷ . . . τὸ σὸν, τὸ ἀγαθον, τὸ ἀναφαίρετον μόνον, τὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν πίστιν, τὴν εἰς τὸν παθόντα ὁμολογίαν . . . κεκτημενος.—St Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.*, 1. 2, c 3.

In symbolo fidei et spei nostræ, quod, ab Apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus, post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem Ecclesiæ, omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis resurrectione concluditur.—St Jerome, *Contr. Joan. Hierosol.*, n. 28.

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To

the undying memory of

POPE PIUS THE TENTH,

Strenuous Defender of Catholic Tradition,

This Defence of the Apostolic

Authorship of the Creed is

lovingly inscribed

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

By the Most Reverend Monsignor LÉPICIER,
the well-known Roman Theologian and Author.

31, Piazza S. Nicola da Tolentino,
Rome (5), 30*th April*, 1924.

My Dear Lord Bishop,

You were good enough to ask me to read the Manuscript of the second edition of your book, *The Apostles' Creed*, and you wish now to have my appreciation of your work. This I give the more willingly that I find your thesis, already abundantly proven in the first edition, brought into fuller light with the fresh material you have been able to gather through patient research and judicious selection. Your claim that the Apostles' Creed was really composed by the chosen disciples of Christ, and as such has been handed down to us through the ages, is well established indeed, and so your work is to be considered as a most valuable contribution to Catholic literature. Other points which are treated by you in connexion with the main subject, such as, for instance, "The Discipline of the Secret", are of great importance in the field of critical studies and

represent laborious researches, the value of which will not escape the attention of the thoughtful student.

I, for one, shall welcome the appearance of your new book, the publication of which at this time will be very opportune.

Begging your blessing, I remain,

My dear Lord Bishop,

Yours sincerely in Xtō,

FR. ALEXIS M. LÉPICIER,

Ord. Serv. B.M.V.

FOREWORD

THE present edition contains so much new matter that it may fairly be called a new book. The case for the existence of the Discipline of the Secret from the earliest times, on which so largely depends the proof of the tradition of the Apostolic authorship of the Creed, has been greatly strengthened: new witnesses are cited, and several plausible objections are met. The special attention of the reader is directed to the dissertation on the "outline of teaching" mentioned by St Paul in his *Epistle to the Romans*, which identifies that formulary with the Creed. The chapter entitled "Meeting Objections" includes a critical study of creed development, and that on the Articles of the Creed gives cogent reasons why the present division is to be accounted incorrect. Under the heading of "The Judean Horizon" will be found a simple but convincing proof that the Creed was drawn up, not at Rome in the second century, as Kattenbusch and Harnack have contended, but at Jerusalem while the things that happened "under Pontius Pilate" were still fresh in living memory. Saint Augustine's own words bear witness that it is not safe to argue from silence in the case of so voluminous a writer. The great African Bishop adds his testimony to the age-long tradition that the Creed came own from the Apostles. Under the heading of "Recent Writings on the Creed" will be

found some notes and studies that serve to bring the work down to date. Finally, the title of the book has been changed from *The Symbol of the Apostles* to *The Apostles' Creed*, for the reason that to many the Creed is not known under the name of Symbol.

The author believes he can justly claim that his book is the only one in any language which undertakes the vindication of the Apostolic authorship of the Creed against the modern school of historical criticism. And here let the learned and indefatigable workers of that school receive their due meed of praise. They have rendered splendid service in directing the attention of men, and especially of scholars, the world over upon the great Creed of Christendom in its multifold forms, and in bringing into the light many things that lay long hid in darkness.

A. M.

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THE APOSTLES' CREED

INTRODUCTION

I

Meaning of Symbol.—From immemorial time the Apostles' Creed has been known as the Symbol, or the Symbol of the Apostles. This word is from the Greek σύμβολον, "token", in military language, "watch-word", in commercial parlance, "bargain" or "agreement". It is made up of βάλλω and σύν, whence συμβάλλω, "I throw or put together". The root-meaning of the word is, therefore, a putting together, a putting this and that together, and the thing so put together. Rufinus (A.D. 390 or 400) believed that the Apostles themselves gave the Creed this name. He tells us that there were sound reasons for doing so. "For, in Greek, the word *symbol* may mean both a sign and a collation —a collation being what many bring together into a common fund. This the Apostles did in their conference; they brought together into a common fund what each thought. And it is called an index or watch-word, because at that time, as the Apostle Paul tells us, 1 *Cor.* c. 11, and as we are told in the *Acts of the Apostles*, c. 15, there were many Jews who pretended that they were apostles of Christ, and went about for the sake of gain, or of making a living, naming

indeed the name of Christ, but not preaching Him in accordance with the tradition. Therefore the Apostles fixed upon this index so as to distinguish the man who preached Christ in truth according to the Apostolic rule".—*Comm. in Symb. Apost.* n. 2.

II

Confusion of Ideas.—" As early as the time when the commentary ascribed to Rufinus was composed ", writes Swainson,[1] " doubts had arisen amongst Latin writers as to the origin of this designation : confusion had arisen between σύμβολον, a mark or sign, and συμβολή, a collation or joint contribution : or rather, attempts were made to ascribe to σύμβολον the signification of συμβολή". This is far from a true account of the matter. Rufinus knew Greek too well to confound σύμβολον with συμβολή. What he did was to distinguish between the received meaning of σύμβολον and its etymological meaning, which the author (St Ambrose ?) of the *Explanatio* calls " *rationem nominis* ", and to put forward the very plausible suggestion that, whether you consider the one meaning or the other, the word is a fitting designation of the Creed. Harnack is equally wide of the truth when he writes : " The contention that this later creed or symbol (the *Textus Receptus*) traced its origin to a συμβολή or *collatio* involves a confusion between συμβολή, which also bears the meaning of *summa* or *brevis complexio*, and σύμβολον, that is *signum*, *indicium*, in the sense not only of a distinction between Christians and heretics, but also in the sense of *tessera militum*, a token or deed of

[1] *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 172.

agreement"[1]. This is, in the words of our homely English proverb, to put the cart before the horse. The contention, or rather the tradition, of the men of old was that the Apostles composed the Creed by putting their heads together to determine what portions of their common Faith it should embody. This being the tradition, those same men saw in it one reason why the Creed was called the Symbol, not confounding *σύμβολον* with *συμβολή*, but going back to the common root of both words. Harnack would have us believe that they found an indication of the joint composition of the Creed by the Apostles in the name "symbol", whereas, on the contrary, they conceived that they found warrant for the name in the fact of the joint composition. The contention of the old commentators, from Rufinus down, is not that the Creed was the joint work of the Twelve because it is called the Symbol, but that it is called the Symbol because it was the joint work of the Twelve. It is Harnack, not they, that has got things mixed up.

III

Rufinus and Swainson.—Rufinus has it that the Symbol served as a tessera and watchword from the time of the Apostles, first to enable the faithful to distinguish true from false teachers of the Gospel, and again to enable them to recognize one another. "In fine, as happens in civil war", he writes, "where men wear the same dress, and speak the same language, and fight after the same fashion, each leader gives his soldiers a distinct watchword, in Latin

[1] *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 10.

called *signum* or *indicium*, so that there may be no room for deceit or treachery. And if anyone is suspected, on being asked to give the watchword, he will show whether he is an enemy or a friend". Swainson (*loc. cit.*) deems it needless to dwell on "the futility of this explanation. Rufinus forgot", he says, "that followers of the Apostolic tradition might become schismatics or even heretical as to points not distinctly enunciated in this document, and then carry away their watchword into the enemies' camp. We must look out", he goes on to say, "for another explanation: and we have it in the circumstances of the third century, when the precept of the Saviour, that the Gospel should be preached to every creature, became checked by the prevalent persecutions; and the example set by St Paul, when he stood before Agrippa, was, from the same causes, deprived of its force. Driven unwillingly to secrecy, the Christians, with a not unnatural aptitude, began to represent to themselves and others that this secrecy had its advantages; that in point of fact it was in itself desirable".

There are many things here set down that will not bear close scrutiny. First of all, the reason relied on by Swainson to prove the futility of the explanation given by Rufinus is itself futile. Rufinus did not forget. He distinguishes two uses of the Symbol as a watchword, one of which was to serve as a badge of the true apostle of Christ in the preaching of the Gospel, the other to mark the true Christian off from the unbeliever. "And thus they handed it down", are the concluding words of the passage in Rufinus as reproduced by Swainson himself (*loc. cit.*), "that their watchword should not be written on paper or

parchment but retained in the hearts of the believers, so that there could be no doubt that, if anyone knew it, he must have received it from the Apostles by tradition, and not by reading it in a book; for a book perchance might fall into the hands of unbelievers". Certainly as against the "Jews who pretended to be apostles of Christ, and named His name but did not preach Him according to the tradition", the Symbol must have proved a serviceable device; for it followed faithfully the lines of the tradition, and could not therefore be adopted by men who did not keep to these lines. Those "false brethren" would not give the watchword even if they could. As for the pagans, on the other hand, they could not if they would. But what if "followers of the Apostolic tradition should become schismatics or even heretics, and carry away the watchword into the enemies' camp?" To this there is a threefold rejoinder. (1) Traitors may be found in every camp, but not the less do leaders still give their men the watchword. (2) The greatest possible precaution was taken in the early Church to guard the Symbol: it was only after a long period of probation, years even, that it was delivered to the catechumen, who was required, on the day of his baptism, to take a solemn oath that he would not betray it. The instances, then, would be exceedingly rare in which a Christian would carry away the watchword into the enemies' camp. (3) It was not from the schismatic nor the heretic that Christians had to apprehend the betrayal of their Symbol, but from the apostate to paganism. Schismatics and heretics were in the same case with orthodox believers when there was question of persecution on the part of the pagans.

If they fell into the clutches of the persecutor, they, too, would have been called on to renounce Christ, and, failing this, would have been put to death. As a matter of fact we find Tertullian upbraiding the heretics of his day with their want of care in hiding the mysteries from the uninitiated. " In the first place ", he says, " it is doubtful who is a catechumen, who a believer among the heretics. They have all access alike, they hear alike, they pray alike ; even if heathens come in upon them, they will cast that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls, false though they be, before swine "[1].

IV

Worse than Futile.—Swainson's objection recoils upon himself. If " Rufinus forgot that followers of the Apostolic tradition might become " apostates in the first century, " and then carry away their watch-word into the enemies' camp ", we ought not to forget that the same thing might happen in the third century with the same result. It could have happened but very seldom, it is true ; for, besides the reason given above, it would have proved difficult for a pagan, even should he succeed in getting the Symbol, to give it out article by article, and word by word, so as not at least to arouse suspicion, not being to the manner trained. But there can be no doubt that it did happen once in a while, and that traitor lips betrayed believers with the Symbol, even as Judas betrayed the Master with a kiss.

And as there were traitors in the first century as well as in the third, so were there persecutors,

[1] *De Praesc.* 41.

so was there persecution. The history of the Church for the first three hundred years of her existence is little else than a record of the persecutions, fierce and frequent, which the Christians bore with such heroic constancy. First the Jews persecuted in Palestine, and when they themselves were crushed and all but extirpated by the conquering Romans, paganism persecuted to the full extent of its power, for well-nigh three centuries, until no amphitheatre was there in Rome's world-wide Empire but had rung with the cry of *Christianos ad leones*, no arena but had run red with the blood of martyrs. If persecution gave rise to the Discipline of the Secret, then as surely as persecution raged when Stephen won his crown in Jerusalem, and Peter in Rome had a like passion with his Master, so surely did there exist the Discipline of the Secret from the very infancy of the Church.

V

The Discipline of the Secret.—What then was this Discipline of the Secret, and when was it first set in operation, and why? The name *Disciplina Arcani* is relatively recent; the system described by the name is as old as the Catholic Church. They read the New Testament to little purpose who fail to find in it clear traces of a fixed resolve from the very first, on the part of the Founder of Christianity, to withhold the mysteries of His religion from the profane, and commit them only to members of the household of the faith. He distinctly forbids His disciples to cast their pearls before swine (*Matt.* 7 : 6), and as distinctly declares that unto them "it is given to know

the mysteries of the Kingdom of God" (*Ibid* 13 : 11), while "unto those that are without all things are done in parables" (*Mark* 4 : 11). St Paul lays special emphasis everywhere on this principle of secrecy. He sees in the ministers of Christ "the dispensers of the mysteries of God" (1 *Cor.* 4 : 1). He would have "the wisdom of God, a wisdom which is hidden", spoken "in a mystery", and only "among the perfect" (*Ibid* 2 : 6, 7)—the *competentes* of a later day. He asks the Ephesians to pray for him that he may "with confidence make known the mystery of the Gospel" (*Eph.* 6 : 19), but elsewhere explains that it is "to the saints" of God the mystery in question is to be unfolded (*Col.* 1 : 26).

VI

Sacraments, Sacrifice and Symbol.—As for the things which came under the rule of secrecy, we learn that they were chiefly the words which make up what is now known as the "form" of the several Sacraments, the Eucharistic service, and the Symbol, not only as enshrining the principal mysteries of religion, but especially as being the watchword given to the soldier of Christ in his warfare with the pagan world. On this head Professor Zahn extracts valuable testimony from the *Didaché* or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles", a work composed some time between A.D. 80 and 130. "This book", are his words, "with deliberate intention, gives only fragmentary directions with reference to baptism, as with reference to the Lord's Supper. For example, the service of Holy Communion itself is not described at all. Only forms of prayer are given which are to

be used before and during the celebration. Already at the time of St Paul's first missionary journey, that the candidate for baptism was accustomed to offer a confession of faith when he received baptism, was borne witness to by St Paul himself—superfluously, for it is self-evident. He reminds Timothy of the beautiful confession he once made before the assembled community when he followed the call to eternal life" (Cf. 1 *Tim.* 6: 12, 13)[1]. In his famous letter to Trajan, Pliny the Younger bears witness that the Christians in Asia Minor were in the habit of holding secret meetings before daylight, and that they bound themselves by oath not to give up a "deposit", which is identified, in a later chapter of the present work, with the Confession of Faith[2]. It appears also from this letter of Pliny's that the Christians were regarded as members of an extensive secret society, whereof the brotherhoods (*hetaeriae*) were proscribed by an imperial edict[3].

VII

Reasons for Secrecy.—There were various reasons for this law of secrecy. The Christians were subject to persecution from the first, as our Lord expressly foretold they should be. Common prudence would therefore dictate that they should not parade their religion in the open view of those who were on the alert to seize and drag them before persecuting tribunals. Again, the mysteries of faith were precisely those pearls that the Master bade them not cast before swine. The Fathers give yet another reason.

[1] *The Articles of the Apostles' Creed* (translated by C. S. and A. E. Burn), pp. 79, 80. [2] See Chap. VII. [3] *C. Plin. et Traj. Epist.* 96 (97).

St Basil draws attention to the fact that over-much familiarity with sacred things is apt to breed contempt. He points to the mystery which surrounded the Holy of Holies in the Old Law as enhancing the reverence and awe with which the Israelites regarded it. "This is the reason", he says, "why certain teachings (which he has just spoken of as having been received in a secret manner from the tradition of the Apostles), have been handed on without writing"[1]. The same principle is strongly insisted on by St Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Eusebius. The first-named cites Plato as counselling his disciples not to commit the deep things of God to writing, and on the words of St Paul (1 *Cor.* 2 : 6, 7 ; 3 : 1, 2, 3) observes : "By milk is meant the catechism, the first nutriment of the soul, as it were"[2]. The allusion is plain to the ancient discipline which kept the Symbol from the catechumens, while yet they were "babes in Christ", and gave it only when, after careful drilling and a lengthened probation, they were "able to bear" the "meat" or stronger food reserved for the soul in the mysteries of the Faith. Eusebius likewise cites the words of Plato, and adds : "To the same purpose also is that salutary precept which we have, '*Give not that which is holy to dogs*' (*Matt.* 7 : 6), and again, '*The animal man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God*'" (1 *Cor.* 2 : 14)[3]. "But after those whom we admonish have advanced in virtue", are the words of Origen, ". . . then at length they are initiated in the mysteries. For, *we speak wisdom among the perfect*"[4] (1 *Cor.* 2 : 6).

[1] *De Spir. Sanct.* c. 27 ; nn. 65, 66, 67 (Migne, P. G., tome 32).
[2] *Strom.* 1, 5 ; c. 8 (Migne, P. G., tome 9).
[3] *Præpar. Evang.* 1, 12 ; c. 7 (Migne, P. G., tome 21).
[4] *Contra Celsum*, 1, 3 ; c. 59 (Migne, P. G., tome 11).

He, too, cites Plato, and adds: "But I make bold to affirm, . . . that the disciples of Christ, after they were imbued with the grace of God, knew far better than Plato what things were to be written, and how, and what was to be made known to the people without writing; what things were to be spoken, and what to be kept secret"[1]. And, once more, in his homily on *Lev.* 5, n. 3 (Migne, tome 12), he observes: "I know that there are other things that the children of Israel, that is, laics, can come in unto; not, however, strangers, unless they are already admitted to the Church of God; For the Egyptian 'in the third generation shall enter into the assembly of the Lord' (*Deut.* 23: 8). I take it that the third generation is said in a mystic sense, because of the faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in whom every one who is joined to the Church of God believes." Here is a distinction drawn between those that are without and those that are within, and again, in the number of the latter, between laymen and clerics. Those that are without have no part in the "mysteries"; of those that are within, laics have access to some, not to all. What they have access to are the mysteries of the faith embodied in the Symbol, "the faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in whom all who are members of the Church believe". Origen seems to discern in the Egyptian children of the third generation who were admitted into the synagogue a mystic and subtle allusion to the three classes of catechumens, *incipientes*, *proficientes*, *competentes*, of whom only the third were initiated into the mysteries and received in the Symbol of the Faith, the Watchword of the Army of Christ.

[1] *Ibid.*, 1, 6; c. 6.

VIII

The Precept of the Master.—Tertullian traces the law of secrecy to the precept of the Master (*Matt.* 7 : 6), which he quotes as follows : " Cast not, He says, your pearls before swine, lest haply they trample them under their feet, and turn and rend you." Christians in the first, second, and third centuries, who had before their eyes the spectacle of a rampant paganism, savage and ferocious to the last degree, wallowing, also, in the mire of every abomination, were keenly alive to the wisdom of this divine precept, and in no wise slow to act upon it. On every side were these swine : did not the words of the Master find here their most pointed application ? Clement and Origen and Basil, too, discern in the words of our Lord and in the Scriptures both of the Old Testament and the New the origin and sanction of the discipline of secrecy, which they all of them regard, not as a thing of recent growth, but as a something that existed in full vigour from the very beginning. It is important to note this, and to lay due stress upon it. The root-reason for the Discipline of the Secret, the reason which our Lord Himself assigns, existed in all its force and peremptoriness in the first century as in the fourth ; nay, with far greater force in the first century than in the fourth ; therefore the Discipline of the Secret existed in the first century, and was enforced with greater rigour, as the need was greater. To have decked Christianity in its pearls while yet it lay in its cradle, in open view of the pagan swine that ran about on all sides, rampant and furious—this surely had been a fatuous and suicidal policy.

If some of the earlier writers, such as Irenæus,

Theophilus of Antioch, Justin, and Ignatius, make no mention of the law of secrecy, or only hint at it, this may be either because we have not to-day all their writings, in some cases but mere fragments, or rather, perhaps, because they are silent of set purpose. How could they more effectually hide the mysteries than to act as if they knew not of the concealment? "Minucius Felix and Arnobius", writes Newman, "in controversy with Pagans, imply a denial that then the Christians used altars; yet Tertullian speaks expressly of the *Ara Dei* in the Church. What can we say, but that the Apologists deny altars in the sense in which they (Pagans) ridicule them; or that they deny that altars such as the Pagan altars were tolerated by Christians? . . . It would be wrong indeed to deny, but it was a duty to withhold, the ceremonial of Christianity; and Apologists might be sometimes tempted to deny absolutely what at furthest could only be denied under conditions"[1]. Some of these writers, however, drop an allusion here and there, from which we may infer that the rule of secrecy must have been known to them, as when Ignatius speaks of "the deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ" (*Ad Trall.*), and Justin, in words to be cited again later on, of "guarding the Confession in the Christ of God".

IX

At the End of the Fourth Century.—At the end of the fourth century, in accordance with a then long-standing law or practice, the mysteries of the Christian Religion were kept with scrupulous care from the uninitiated, and delivered only to those who had entered the One Fold of Christ by the door of Baptism.

[1] *Development of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 27, 28.

This ancient practice was part of the discipline of the Universal Church. Furthermore, according to the Fathers who witness to the existence of it, both in East and West, it was based on a tradition handed down from Christ and the Apostles. Thus, St Basil in the East, testifies that certain tenets and teachings had come down, "transmitted", he says, "in a secret manner from the tradition of the Apostles"[1]. And in the West the author of the *Explanatio Symboli* gives as the reason why it was not lawful to put the Creed in writing, "Because such is the tradition"[2]. St Augustine, too, traces to the Apostles the whole discipline of the Church in his days regarding the administration of baptism. What the Church observed in the administration of baptism, that, he tells us, the Apostles themselves observed—"as we know from the tradition which has come down from one generation to another"[3].

Objection has been made against the early existence of the rule of secrecy on two grounds, one negative, the other positive. The positive ground of objection is the freedom with which St Justin, in his First Apology, speaks of the mysteries; the negative ground is the lack, as it is claimed, of documentary evidence of the prevalence of the *arcanum* in the first centuries. This latter we will consider first.

It may be observed at the outset that there are two things which greatly tend to weaken the force of the objection made on the score of the lack of documentary proof. The first is that, of the Christian literature of the first and second centuries, outside of the books of the New Testament, only a remnant has come down to us. The second is that, while Chris-

[1] *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 27, n. 66. [2] Migne, P. L., tome 17, col. 1160.
[3] *De Fide et Operibus*, c. 9 (Migne, P. L., tome 40, col. 295-6).

tianity was yet in its infancy and its adherents were subjected to fierce persecution everywhere, it would have been unwise on the part of Christian writers to speak openly of the *arcanum*. To have done so would have served but to intensify the suspicion and distrust with which the Christians were regarded.

That the rule of secrecy and the tradition of its Apostolic origin existed in the third century we know from the testimony of contemporary writers. "And we are also ordered", writes St Cyprian, "to keep that which is holy within our own knowledge, and not expose it to be trodden on by swine and dogs"[1]. In the East, we find Origen declaring that there should be, besides the exoteric doctrines, some things that are not manifested to the crowd, is not peculiar to Christianity alone, but is common to the systems of philosophers, among whom some discourses were exoteric, and some also esoteric. . . . Moreover, all the mysteries that are celebrated everywhere throughout Greece and barbarous countries, although held in secret, have no discredit thrown on them, so that it is in vain that (Celsus) endeavours to calumniate the secret doctrines of Christianity, seeing that he does not correctly understand its nature"[2]. According to Origen, then, it was the Apostles themselves, after they received the Holy Ghost, who established the rule that certain things were not to be manifested to the crowd. Hence, in replying to Celsus, who railed against the Christian religion as "a secret system", he simply admits that it contains esoteric as well as exoteric doctrines, and does but deny that this is to be counted to its discredit, since it is common also to the systems of philosophers.

[1] *Lib. ad Demetr.*, n. 1. [2] *Contra Celsum*, l. 1, n. 7.

X

Clement and Tertullian.—Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian enable us to trace back the Discipline of the Secret to the second century. By birth and education both of these writers belong to the second century, though both lived on into the third. In the *Stromata*, written during the last decade of the second century, Clement refers over and over again to the discipline of secrecy, and refers to it in such a way as to make it plain that he did not regard it as of recent origin, or as local in its character, but rather as coming down from our Lord and the Apostles, and as conterminous with the Church. He points out that our Lord Himself practised reserve in dealing with the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, which He made known to His disciples, but spoke in parables to those that were without (*Matt.* 13 : 11; *Mark* 4 : 11) ; and he implies that He taught His Apostles to do likewise. " (The Lord) allowed us ", he says, " to communicate those divine mysteries and that holy light to those who are able to receive them. He did not certainly disclose to the many what did not belong to the many ; but to the few to whom He knew that they belonged, who were capable of receiving and being moulded according to them. Now, secret things are entrusted to speech, not to writing, as is the case with God. And if anyone say that it is written, ' There is nothing secret which shall not be revealed, nor hidden which shall be disclosed ', let him also hear from us that to him who hears secretly even what is secret shall be manifested. This is what was predicted by this oracle. And to him who

is able to keep secret what is delivered to him that which is veiled shall be disclosed as truth, and what is hidden to the many shall be manifest to the few "[1]. Again (n. 12), he accounts it as one of the impediments in the way of his writing that, "it is requisite to hide in a mystery the wisdom spoken, which the Son of God taught", adding, "And even now I fear, as it is said, 'to cast the pearls before swine, lest they tread them under foot, and turn and tear us' ". He declares that he has omitted some things of set purpose, being "afraid to write what" he was "on his guard not to speak about", for that it was "impossible that what has been written should not escape, even though remaining unpublished by" him (*Ibid*, n. 1). From these passages—and many others of the same tenor might be cited—it is plain that Clement felt himself as much bound by the rule of secrecy as did the Fathers of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, and for the same reason, to wit, that the rule in question was part of the unwritten law of the Church, handed down from the Apostles, Christ Himself having both by word and example inaugurated and sanctioned the observance of it. True, the rule was of a provisional character, devised to meet the difficulties of a time when Christians lived in the midst of pagan populations, who would only make mock of and profane the mysteries of their religion were they to be manifested to them. In allusion to this, Clement likens the *Stromata* to "an umbrageous and shaggy hill, planted with cypresses and plane-trees, with laurel, and ivy, and apples, and olives, and figs; the planting being purposely a mixture of fruit-bearing and fruitless trees, since

[1] *Strom.*, l. 1, c. 1.

the composition aims at concealment, on account of those that have the daring to pilfer and steal the ripe fruits "[1]. When, in process of time, the pagans, from being the overwhelming majority in every land, passed into a dwindling minority, the pilferers of the ripe fruits of Christian doctrine lost their daring, and the need of hedging these fruits about with secrecy ceased. Yet the discipline of secrecy lived on, far even into the sixth century, long after the need for it had passed away. Whence we may gather the veneration with which the Church regarded this remnant of Apostolic practice.

Tertullian, the contemporary of Clement, witnesses, in the West, to the existence of the *arcanum*. In *Ad Uxorem* he discourses on the dangers that beset the faith of Christian women who marry pagans, and the hindrances that an unbelieving husband puts in his wife's way. "Will not your husband," he says, "know what it is which you secretly taste before taking any food? and if he knows it to be bread, will he not believe it to be that bread which it is said to be?" —*i.e.*, bread dipped in the blood of an infant, as the current pagan calumny represented the Eucharist to be. It has been said that it "would be more apposite to cite this as dissuasive of 'mixed marriages' than as evidence of a *disciplina arcani*". But the one who says so confounds the general scope of Tertullian's exhortation with the special plea that he puts forward to give it force. Tertullian aims at dissuading mixed marriages. One of the reasons that he urges is the great difficulty the Christian wife will have in concealing from her pagan husband the distinctive practices of her religion. The context shows that he

[1] l. 7, n. 18.

holds her to be bound on pain of sin to conceal them. For, to the objection that he puts to himself, "But some husband does endure our practices, and not annoy us", he replies. "Here, therefore, there is sin, in that Gentiles know our practices; in that we are subject to the privity of the unjust"[1]. Tertullian, a rigourist by inclination and training, might be thought a rigourist also in his application of the rule of secrecy. But this in no wise weakens the force of his testimony to the existence of the rule. "Your pearls", he says, "are the distinctive marks of even your daily life. The more care you take to conceal them, the more liable to suspicion will you make them, and the more exposed to the grasp of Gentile curiosity. Shall you escape notice when you sign your bed [with the sign of the cross] . . . when even by night you rise to pray? And shall you not be thought to be engaged in some work of magic?" Why should the wife be at pains to conceal these practices from her pagan husband if she were under no obligation to do so? Would such an argument as this of Tertullian's be deemed to-day dissuasive of mixed marriages? And if not, why not? Plainly because to-day we are not enjoined to conceal from outsiders any of our religious practices. It would have been an easy matter for the wife that Tertullian is addressing to make it clear to her husband that there was no taint of magic in Christian prayer or the sign of the cross. But she could not have done so without trenching on forbidden ground, and disclosing to a pagan the mysteries of the Christian Faith. It was not the fact of her being a Christian that she had to conceal—this her husband is supposed

[1] *Ibid.*, l. 2, n. 5.

to know, but the fact that there were certain rites and practices of their religion which it was not lawful for Christians to make known to outsiders.

In his *Apologeticus* and again in his *Ad Nationes*, Tertullian furnishes fresh proof of the existence of this rule of secrecy. In the former work he points out that it is "a universal custom in religious initiations to keep the profane aloof, and to beware of witnesses" (vs. 7), and concludes, therefore, that pagans had nothing better than mere rumour to bear out their charge of hideous crimes against the Christians in connection with the celebration of the mysteries. He follows the same line of defence in *Ad Nationes*, and is more explicit. How could pagans know, he asks, what occurred in the celebration of the Christian mysteries? "For it could not have been made known by the Christians themselves, I take it, since by the very constitution and law of all mysteries the obligation of secrecy is imposed. . . . Since, therefore, the Christians are not their own betrayers, it follows that it must be strangers. Now I ask, how could strangers obtain knowledge of us, when even true and lawful mysteries exclude every stranger from witnessing them, unless illicit ones are less exclusive?" (chap. 7). It has been maintained that Tertullian is here arguing on the premises of his adversaries, and that he does but suppose for the sake of argument that Christians withhold their mysteries from the profane. But this is to read a meaning into the passage that it does not bear. According to this interpretation, when the great apologist declares that "by the very constitution and law of all mysteries the obligation of secrecy is imposed", he means pagan mysteries only. But what he says

is " all mysteries ". By what canon of interpretation can a writer be made to mean other than that which he says ? Besides, Tertullian's argument stands or falls with the truth of the proposition that he lays down regarding " all mysteries ". His adversaries charge the Christians with the commission of monstrous crimes in their secret assemblies. He undertakes to show that this trumped-up charge rests on nothing better than rumour and suspicion. From the nature of the case, he argues, it cannot rest on real knowledge of the facts. His reasoning here takes the form of a dilemma. Such knowledge must have been procured either from the Christians themselves or from others. But not from the Christians themselves, for this is barred " by the very constitution and law of all mysteries " ; nor from others, for " even true and lawful mysteries exclude every stranger from witnessing them " ; much more, therefore, " illicit ones ". The " true and lawful mysteries " are the pagan, which he calls " true " in the sense of his adversaries, and " lawful " because recognized by the law of the Empire. The " illicit ones " are the Christian, which were proscribed by successive edicts of the Emperors. Now, suppose it is not true that the obligation of secrecy was imposed in the case of the Christian mysteries. What follows ? It follows, in the first place, that Tertullian affirms, at least by necessary implication, what he knows to be false. It follows, in the second place, that the first member of his dilemma falls to the ground. For, if the Christians were at liberty to reveal the mysteries, the only question remaining would be one of fact, which his adversaries could determine quite as well as Tertullian. There could be no question of " law

and constitution", for one proved fact would be worth a whole volume of alleged "law". But Tertullian has supreme confidence in the cogency of his dilemma because it rests on a fact known to him, viz., that any Christian would die rather than reveal the mysteries, as well as on a principle which his adversaries admit as readily as himself—that "by the very constitution and law of all mysteries the obligation of secrecy is imposed". And his forensic triumph is complete, for he has made it plain that the Christians are persecuted to the death on mere suspicion of crimes which they indignantly disown, and which neither have been nor, from the nature of the case, could have been proved against them.

XI

Minucius Felix.—We have said "forensic triumph" advisedly; it was nothing more. The odious suspicion still remained. It was fastened on the Christians by the very fact of the secrecy to which they had pledged themselves. This appears from Tertullian's own account of the matter. But we have an explicit declaration of it in the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, a work written probably in the latter half of the second century, certainly before the middle of the third. Cæcilius, the heathen disputant, there describes the Christians as "a herd of a profane conspiracy, which is leagued together by nightly meetings, and solemn fasts, and inhuman meats—not by any sacred rite, but by that which requires expiation—a people skulking and shunning the light, silent in public, but garrulous in corners"[1]. "They

[1] Chap. 8.

know one another by secret marks and insignia", he goes on to say, "and they love one another almost before they know one another. Everywhere also there is mingled among them a certain religion of lust, and they call one another promiscuously brothers and sisters, that even a not unusual debauchery may by the intervention of that sacred name become incestuous: it is thus that their vain and senseless superstition glories in crimes. Nor, concerning these matters, would intelligent report speak of things so great and abominable, and requiring to be prefaced by an apology, unless truth were at the bottom of it." He then mentions an unspeakable practice attributed to the Christians by common report, and adds, most significantly: "I know not whether these things are false: *certainly suspicion attaches to secret and nocturnal rites*"[1]. Again, in the next chapter he insists on this point, saying: "For why do [Christians] endeavour with such pains to conceal and to cloak whatever they worship, since honourable things always rejoice in publicity, while crimes are kept secret? Why have they no altars, no temples, no acknowledged images? Why do they never speak openly, never congregate freely, unless for the reason that what they worship and conceal is either worthy of punishment, or something to be ashamed of"? Cæcilius is represented as an honourable pagan, not at all swayed by vulgar hate of Christianity, and far above the ordinary run of men in intelligence and learning. Yet this is the conception that he has formed of Christians and of their religion from such information about them as he has been enabled to glean. It is true that it differs in no wise from the

[1] Chap. 9.

conception currently entertained by the uneducated crowd. Yet it plainly was not confined to the lower classes, but was shared also by pagans of culture and breadth of mind. Here, then, was an opportunity to show the calumnious character of the foul charges under which the Christians had lain so long. Octavius had but to invite his pagan friend to come to the celebration of the Christian mysteries, and see for himself. Surely this would have been the most effective way, indeed the only way that could be absolutely effective, to clear away the foul suspicion that lurked in the mind of the pagan. Instead of taking this way, however, Octavius enters upon a learned argument to convince his friend that the suspicion is groundless, that the charges are false and absurd. He lays stress on the fact that these charges were never proved, nor even inquired into. "Believe us ourselves when penitent", he says, "for we also were the same as you, and formerly, while yet blind and obtuse, thought the same things as you, to wit, that the Christians worshipped monsters, devoured infants, mingled in incestuous banquets. And we did not perceive that such fables as these were always set afloat by newsmongers, and were never either inquired into or proved, and that in so long a time no one had appeared to betray the deeds of the Christians, and to obtain not only pardon for his own share in their crimes but favour for the discovery of them"[1]. The pointed question of Cæcilius, "Why do the Christians take such pains to conceal and cloak whatever they worship, since honourable things always rejoice in publicity?" he evades rather than answers, and practises what Newman calls

[1] *Ibid.*, Chap. 28.

"economy", even to the extent of implying a denial that the Christians had altars[1], though the more outspoken Tertullian witnesses to the existence of the *Ara Dei* in the Christian Church. It seems plain that Octavius has a consciousness of the *arcanum*, and is embarrassed thereby. "It must be recollected", says Newman, "that there was a *disciplina arcani* in the first centuries", and that "it was exercised, as far as might be, as regards the Holy Trinity and the Eucharist"[2].

XII

Pliny the Younger.—It may be urged that the Christians worshipped in secret, not because of any rule of secrecy, but simply because of the prevalent persecutions. But they did enjoy intervals of respite from persecution, yet at no time were their places of worship open to unbelievers. Nay, for hundreds of years after persecution ceased the uninitiated continued to be rigidly excluded from the Christian mysteries. If persecution had been the sole motive cause of secrecy, the secrecy should have ended with the cause that gave it being. As a matter of fact, it is truer to say that the Christians suffered persecution because of "the pains they took to conceal and cloak what they worshipped", than that they took such pains because they were persecuted. "An ordinance of Trajan against secret associations", writes Bishop Spalding, "legally justified the governors, under all the pagan emperors, in persecuting the Christians wherever avarice, or hatred, or policy prompted them to such measures"[3]. Pliny the Younger, in the

[1] Chap. 32. [2] *St Athanasius*, vol. 2, p. 208.
[3] *History of the Church of God*, p. 263.

letter already referred to, speaks of this ordinance as " my edict, by which, according to your instructions, I proscribed secret brotherhoods—*hetaerias* ". " In the eyes of a Roman judge, [the Christians] were members of an extensive secret society (T. 33, 3, N.), and dreaded as communists, or nihilists "[1]. How great the dread of the central government at Rome was on this score we may gather from the fact that Trajan refused Pliny's application for permission to organize a brotherhood of carpenters in Nicomedia, where their services were sorely needed because of a great fire that had laid in ashes the homes of many of the inhabitants. Pliny, in his petition, states that the club will consist of not more than one hundred and fifty, and assures the Emperor that he will himself see to it that none but a carpenter shall be admitted, and that the privilege granted shall not be abused; " nor will it be difficult ", he adds, " to look after so few ". But Trajan will not hear of it. " Whatever name ", he replies, " we shall give to those who shall have been banded together, and for whatever purpose . . . secret associations will shortly be formed "[2]. The Emperor thus fears that even the formation of a club of carpenters would furnish an opportunity for evading the provisions of the edict, and for enabling the professors of the new religion, who were suspected of forming a conspiracy against the State, to carry out their purpose under the ægis of the law.

It appears, then, that, at this early period, the Christians were, in the eyes of the law, members of an extensive confederacy, having numberless ramifications in every part of the Empire, and that the secrecy which shrouded their assemblies made them

[1] *Pliny's Letters*, by Geo. O. Holbrooke, M.A., p. 184. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

suspected of plotting against the State. It was, in fact, under the law forbidding secret associations that Pliny proceeded against them. The same secrecy, too, gave colour to the suspicion, so widely and so long entertained, that, as the heathen disputant in the *Octavius* expresses it, there "must be something at the bottom" of the horrible reports that were current about them. The very name of Christian became associated in the pagan mind with unnatural crimes—*flagitia cohaerentia nomini*[1]. Now, can we believe, in the face of all this, that the Christians would still continue to worship in secret, at the imminent peril of their lives, and with the full knowledge that by so doing they were confirming more and more the sinister opinion formed of them by their pagan neighbours, unless they were persuaded that there was a vital principle at stake? Why leave in the hands of their enemies a weapon that was used to slay themselves under a form of law? Why dwell under a dark cloud of suspicion and distrust, as being a *gens lucifuga*—"a people skulking and shunning the light", if they were really free to reveal to pagans the mysteries of their religion, and let public curiosity sate its gaze at their weekly assemblies[2]? The conclusion, therefore, seems to be forced upon us that the Discipline of the Secret was at this time in full operation, and that to the Christians under Trajan, as to Clement of Alexandria nearly a century later, it was "a matter of religion not to cast the pearls before swine"[3].

In his letter to Trajan, Pliny relates how he sought

[1] *C. Plinius Trajano Imperatori*, xcvi [xcvii].

[2] "And on the day called Sunday all [Christians] who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place."—*First Apology* of St Justin, c. 67.

[3] *Strom.*, l. 1, c. 12.

to force by torture from two Christian handmaids the truth of what passed at the secret reunions of the Christians—*quid esset veri et per tormenta quaerere.* "I found nothing", he says, "other than a wicked and excessive superstition." No doubt it shocked the feelings of this cultured pagan to find that people could believe in the divinity of the Man who had died on a cross between two malefactors[1]. And it was quite natural for him to think that "the plague of this superstition", which had "spread not only in the cities and towns but also throughout the country, could be rooted out"—*corrigi* is the term he uses, which implies that the "superstition" in question was, in his eyes, the offspring of a gross ignorance, and must yield to rational treatment in the event. Educate the Christians and they will cease to believe such nonsense, seems to have been his thought.

XIII

Justin Martyr.—But Pliny's hope that the Christians could be reclaimed from the practice of what he regarded as "excessive superstition" proved vain. In spite of calumny, in spite of persecution, the Christian Religion continued to spread everywhere, and to win recruits from all ranks of pagan society. Even the noble and the learned flocked to the standard of the Cross. One of the most notable converts of this early time was Justin the Philosopher. Knowing how effectually the secrecy observed by the Christians played into the hands of their calumniators and persecutors, he determined, not, we may suppose,

[1] "For they proclaim our madness to consist in this, that we give to a crucified man a place second to the unchangeable and eternal God, Creator of all; for they do not discern the mystery that is herein."—St Justin, *Apol.*, I, n. 13.

without consultation with the pastors of the Church, upon the bold course of setting forth, in a petition addressed to the Roman Emperor and Senate, the truth regarding the Christian mysteries so far as might be needful to meet the current calumnies. He was singularly fitted for the task. The esteem which his great learning and known probity had won him gave ground for the hope that he would gain the ear of the Emperor, with whom he adroitly associates, in his appeal, " his son Verissimus the philosopher, and . . . Lucius the philosopher, the natural son of Cæsar, and the adopted son of [Antoninus] Pius, a lover of learning "[1]. A frank, straightforward, and as he terms it himself, " unexceptionable account of the life and doctrine " of the Christians, from such a man as Justin, would go far towards dissipating the suspicions with which the Emperor and his advisers regarded the followers of Christ. Even if the Christian beliefs and practices which he described for them should " seem nonsensical ", as he felt they were likely to do, at any rate they would be found innocuous, and his plea would appeal to their sense of what was just and reasonable—" despise them as nonsense, and do not decree death against those who have done no wrong, as you would against enemies "[2]. Nor was Justin's petition unheeded. " In the fifteenth year of his reign Antoninus Pius renewed the rescript of Hadrian in favour of the Christians, and gave to the Church greater tranquillity than she had enjoyed for fifty years "[3].

It is this action of St Justin's that is taken as a decisive proof that the Discipline of the Secret was

[1] *Apol.*, 1, n. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, n. 68.
[3] Spalding, *History of the Church of God*, p. 264.

unknown in the early Church. Rightly considered, however, it is nothing of the kind, but rather tends to prove the very opposite. In the first place, Justin discloses only those mysteries that were associated in the pagan mind with the practice of abominable crimes, viz., baptism, the initiatory rite, and the Eucharist. This indicates the motive of the disclosure—surely a grave enough motive to warrant it, else were "the law" unto destruction, and not unto edification. Again Justin's "petition" (it is the word he uses himself) to the Emperor and Senate was, from the nature of the case, a privileged communication. It was not meant for the general public. He was not, therefore, "casting the pearls before swine", but submitting them for inspection to men of honour and good sense, who might be trusted, if not to appreciate them, at least to discern that they were not what they were thought to be by the common herd. And it is not a little significant that in his Second Apology, which he addressed to the Senate, and which contains no revelation of the mysteries, Justin prays them "to publish [his] little book, appending what [they] think right, that our opinions may be known to others"[1]; whereas, in his First Apology, which is addressed more immediately to the Emperor and his sons, he makes no such request.

But the very fact that Justin had to enter into a somewhat detailed account of the administration of baptism and the celebration of the Holy Eucharist is the best proof of the jealous care with which these mysteries were screened from the public gaze. More than a century had elapsed since the Prince of the Apostles had fixed his see in Rome. In the meantime

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 14.

Christianity had taken deep root, and had spread rapidly. Its adherents were counted by the tens of thousands. They belonged to all classes of the population, and were to be found in every walk of life. Even within the palace of the Cæsars the God of the Christians was worshipped. And yet so little was known about the Christian Mysteries that Justin in this Apology has to cite for the Emperor a petition of an extraordinary character presented a short time before then by a Christian youth to Felix the governor in Alexandria, " that you may understand ", he says, " that promiscuous intercourse is not one of our mysteries[1]". These mysteries were celebrated day after day, or at least Sunday after Sunday, within the shadow of the palace of the Cæsars, and had been celebrated for more than a hundred years, yet no pagan in all Rome could be cited to give testimony as to their character. Nor does Justin even as much as hint, in his demand for a judicial investigation, that every one may have access to the places where the Christians worship, and that the Emperor may, if he is so minded, send a committee of trustworthy men to make an investigation on the spot, and give a faithful report of what they see and hear. What he demands is " that the charges against the Christians be investigated, and that, if these be substantiated, they be punished as they deserve ; or rather ", he adds, " we ourselves will punish them[2]". From all of which it will appear that Justin's Apology does but furnish further proof of the existence and rigorous enforcement of the *arcanum*.

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 29.

[2] *Ibid.*, n. 3. These latter words have been suspected of being an interpolation, but without cause. St Justin is thinking of the spiritual penalties which the Church has power to inflict.

XIV

Further Testimony.—It is to-day admitted on all hands that the Old Roman or Apostles' Creed was in use in Rome several years before St Justin sealed his faith there with his blood, and even before he wrote his First Apology. Harnack traces the Old Roman Creed back to about A.D. 145, while Kattenbusch assigns to it an origin earlier by half a century. We will say nothing here of the age-long and universal tradition of the Church which ascribes the authorship of it to the Apostles. Now, neither in the works of St Justin, nor in the works of any writer of the first three centuries, is the Creed to be found. The Fathers of the fourth century tell us that they got it by word of mouth from their forefathers in the faith. And they give as the reason why it was not lawful to put it in writing that such was the tradition handed down in the Church from the beginning. The fact that it is not found in any writings earlier than the fourth century corroborates their testimony. Nor can any explanation of that fact be given other than that the Creed came within the Discipline of the Secret.

Take, again, Tertullian's way of citing the Creed, which he calls the Rule of Faith. In three several places he professes to set forth the contents of this Rule; he makes numberless references to it; yet he never gives it word for word, and never even gives the several clauses of it twice in exactly the same words. The same is true of the Creed-citations in Irenæus: they are inextricably confused and hopelessly confusing. If any one thinks he can give a

rational explanation of these singular phenomena without having recourse to the Discipline of the Secret, he is, of course, free to make the attempt. But the law of critical investigation, which is the law of truth, leaves no one free to ignore the phenomena, or to fight shy of the proffered explanation of them, which is adequate, so long as he is not able to furnish a better.

In the scant remains of Christian literature that have come down to us from the first century, outside of the New Testament writings, one may discover some not obscure hints of the operation of the *arcanum*. Thus, in the *Epistle to Diognetus*, which is assigned by competent critics to the Apostolic Age, the author says: "I do not speak of things strange to me, nor do I aim at anything inconsistent with right reason; but having been a disciple of the Apostles, I am become a teacher of the Gentiles. I minister the things delivered to me to those that are disciples worthy of the truth. For who that is rightly taught and begotten by the loving Word, would not seek to learn accurately the things which have been clearly shown by the Word to His disciples, speaking plainly [to them], not understood indeed by the unbelieving, but conversing with the disciples, who, being esteemed faithful by Him, acquired a knowledge of the mysteries of the Father?[1]". Here again it is our Lord who is represented as inaugurating the *arcanum*. In the *Didaché*, "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles", we find the following directions as to the manner in which strangers are to be received:

Let every one that cometh in the name of the Lord be received, and then by testing you shall know

[1] *The Apostolic Fathers* (Ante-Nicene Christian Library), p. 314.

him, for you shall have understanding right and left. If he that cometh be a wayfarer, help him as much as you may: he shall not tarry with you save two or three days if need be. But if he would abide among you, being an artisan, let him labour and eat; but if he have no trade provide according to your judgment, that no idler may live as a Christian among you. If he will not act thus, he is a trafficker in Christ. Beware of such.—n. 12.

This passage recalls the words of the heathen disputant in the *Octavius*: "[The Christians] know one another by secret marks and insignia". There was a twofold test to be applied; one of faith, common to the wayfarer and the would-be dweller among them; the other of conduct, for the latter only. The former of these tests the writer passes over in silence. But we know that, in the first centuries, it consisted in making proof of the stranger's ability to give the Christian Password, which was the Symbol of the Faith. This preliminary testing is what Tertullian tersely describes as *contesseratio hospitalitatis*: the tessera of the true faith alone ensured hospitable treatment, together with all the privileges of the welcome guest. But this only for a reasonable length of time. Even the Christian must not be allowed to sponge on his brethren. And if he shows a disposition to do so, he gives proof of being no true Christian, but "a trafficker in Christ". By this double test of faith and works the early Christians were to "have understanding right and left".

The early heretics invoked the name of Christ and by an outward profession of the common faith sought to entrap the unwary. This was the case more especially with the Valentinians. "For these", as Irenæus tells us, "introduce modes of speech for

the multitude, with a view to those that are of the Church, whom they themselves call ordinary Churchmen; whereby they captivate the more simple, and by affecting our way of discussion, allure them to more frequent hearing. They also complain of us, that although their sentiments agree with ours, we causelessly abstain from communicating with them, and style them heretics, while their language and their doctrine is the same[1]". And once more: "Outwardly they are sheep (for by the language which they ostensibly hold, they seem like us, speaking our very words) but inwardly they are wolves[2]". But over and above the mysteries common to all Christians, into which men were initiated by baptism, those heretics had mysteries of their own which they pretended to have received in a secret manner from the Apostles. To this Irenæus alludes where he asks, "How do these who never had intercourse with Paul boast that they have learned hidden and unspeakable mysteries[3]"? Again, in the words immediately following the first citation given above: "And when by their disputations they have cast any down from the faith, and have made unresisting disciples of them, they speak out to them apart the unspeakable mystery of their Pleroma". Against this "occult gospel" of the heretics both Irenæus and Tertullian vehemently protest. "Openly", says the latter, "did the Lord speak, without any intimation of a hidden mystery[4]". And the former declares that "the doctrine of the Apostles is evident and firm, and withdraws nothing; nor is it one in those who teach openly and another in those who

[1] *Against Heresies*, Bk. 3, c. 15, n. 2. [2] *Ibid.*, c. 16, n. 8.
[3] C. 14, n. 1. [4] *De Praesc.*, n. 26.

teach secretly[1]". To construe these protestations into a denial of the Christian *arcanum*, as some have done, is to lose sight of the fact that they are directed against professing Christians, who acknowledge the common *arcanum* while pretending to a special one exclusively their own. Very different, as we have seen, is the language Tertullian employs when, in dealing with the heathen, he assumes the rôle of apologist, and openly proclaims that, " by the very constitution and law of all mysteries the obligation of secrecy is imposed ". What both he and Irenæus reproach the heretics with is not the secrecy of their rites but rather the " unspeakable " character of them, and particularly their pretence of having received from the Lord and His Apostles certain mysteries that were not communicated to " ordinary Churchmen ". This is plainly implied also in the statement of Irenæus that the doctrine of the Apostles is not " one in those who teach openly and another in those who teach secretly ". The heretics taught one thing openly and quite a different thing secretly, whereas that which the true Christians taught openly was not other than that which they taught secretly, though everything was not openly taught, for fear of *casting the pearls before swine.* In short, the esoteric doctrine with them was the same as the exoteric, but more fully developed, in accordance with the rule of the Apostle that *the wisdom of God should be spoken in a mystery and among the perfect.*

UNTO YOU IT IS GIVEN TO KNOW THE MYSTERIES OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD, BUT TO THE REST IN PARABLES : such is the law of the Christian Arcanum as laid down by Christ.

[1] Bk 3, c. 15, n. 1.

XV

In the Heart of the New Testament.—In the writings of the New Testament, or, to be more specific, in the Pastoral Epistles, there are numberless references to what is variously and vaguely described as an "outline of teaching" (*Rom.* 6 : 17), "this teaching" (2 *Jo.* : 10), "confession" (*Heb.* 4 : 14), "pattern of sound words" (2 *Tim.* 1 : 13), "deposit" (1 Tim. 6 : 20). We are not now concerned to ascertain what this teaching was. Enough for the present to know that it was some part of the Christian Revelation; that it had been already couched in a definite form of words, else it could not be spoken of as an "outline of teaching" and "pattern of sound words"; and that it was to be "guarded" and committed only to "faithful men" who should be "fit to teach others also" (2 *Tim.* 2 : 2). Search the New Testament from beginning to end, and you will not find this doctrinal formulary. You will find allusions to it in plenty, fragments of it, a few phrases or sentences picked from it, perhaps, but the formulary itself—nowhere. Can clearer evidence be asked for of the existence, from the very beginning, of what has been aptly called the Discipline of the Secret? For here in the very heart of the New Testament is a secret, and a secret which it passes the art of man to pluck from it.

XVI

"**Lead, Kindly Light.**"—Vast is the ground that has to be gone over by the one who would trace the Symbol to its source. The way is long and devious.

It lies, for the most part, in a wilderness, and winds at times through tangled forest shrouded in gloom. Pick your steps never so carefully, you still are liable to stumble and to fall. Entering upon this difficult way, where the light of nature so often fails one and the footing is so insecure, I look to Faith for guidance, and to Catholic Tradition to lend me a helping and sustaining hand. And all my steps I give into the keeping of Mother Church, the guardian of the Symbol, the organ of Apostolic Tradition, the teacher of the true Faith, unreservedly submitting to her unerring judgment and censure whatever is written in these pages.

CHAPTER I

APOSTOLIC AUTHORSHIP OF THE SYMBOL

I

The Tradition.—Between the latter half of the fourth century and the middle of the fifth, several writers of exceptional standing categorically affirm the Creed to be of Apostolic origin. Chief among these are St Ambrose, St Jerome, the Presbyter Rufinus, and St Leo the Great. The last-named calls the Creed the "Catholic and Apostolic Symbol[1]", speaks of it as the Rule of Faith "which has come down to us with the authority of apostolic institution[2]", and puts those who "contradict the Symbol instituted by the holy Apostles" in the same category with men who deny the doctrine of the Incarnation[3]. The testimony of St Ambrose is contained in these words: "Let the Symbol of the Apostles be believed, which the Roman Church ever has in its keeping and preserves inviolate[4]". St Jerome bears witness that "the Symbol of our Faith and Hope, which has been handed down to us from the Apostles, is not written with ink on paper, but graved on the fleshly tablets of the heart[5]".

[1] Serm. 24, c. 6. (Migne, tome 54). [2] Serm. 62, c. 2.
[3] Serm. 96, c. 1. [4] *Ad Siricium* (Migne, tome 23; ep. 42; col. 1125).
[5] In Symbolo fidei et spei nostrae, quod, ab Apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus, post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem Ecclesiæ, omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis resurrectione concluditur.—*Contra Joan. Hierosol*, n. 28 (Migne, tome 23, col. 380).

II

Testimony of Rufinus.—The testimony of Rufinus, who writes towards the close of the fourth century or the opening of the fifth, is, though no whit clearer or more categorical, fuller and much more specific. The others make but a passing allusion to the Symbol; Rufinus has a whole treatise upon it[1]. At the outset of his commentary (for such it is) on the Creed, he deals with its origin. "The subject of his exposition", notes Zahn[2], "is the baptismal Creed of the Church of Aquileia, in which in 370 he received Baptism, and at the same time the Creed. But he does not discuss it without casting side-glances on the baptismal confessions of other Churches. He had not lacked opportunities for becoming acquainted with them", continues the author, attesting the competency of Rufinus. "He had passed six years in Alexandria and very nearly twenty in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood. He had also made a long stay in Rome before settling in Aquileia for the rest of his life. He had also read some sermons on the Creed by famous preachers of foreign Churches".

Rufinus tells us how the faithful in his day held it as a tradition, handed down from their forefathers in the faith, that the Apostles, after the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, and before they dispersed to preach the Gospel throughout the world, being gathered together, composed the Symbol to serve as the norm of their teaching in the after time; how they collaborated in drawing up this brief outline (*indicium*) or index of the truths they were about to preach, and

[1] *Comment. in Symbol. Apost.* (Migne, tome 21).
[2] *The Articles of the Apostles' Creed*, pp. 18, 19.

agreed to deliver it to believers as their rule or standard; also, how they gave it the name of Symbol, a name, observes our author, which signifies at once a putting together or collaborating and a distinctive mark or badge, whereby the preachers of the true faith, as well as true believers, may be known. He adds the significant words: "Therefore they delivered these [truths embodied in the Symbol], not to be written on paper or parchment, but to be retained in the hearts of believers, so that it might be certain that nobody had learnt them from writings which are known at times to fall into the hands of unbelievers, but from the tradition of the Apostles".

According to Rufinus, the Apostles not only composed the Creed but gave it the name of Symbol, which it still bears. Harnack has not been able to discover any trace of the term symbol as a designation of the Creed in the writings of the first two centuries. It would seem to have been for the first time employed in this sense by St Cyprian[1]. But this should not be held to weaken the force of the testimony of Rufinus to the fact, or rather the tradition, of the Apostolic authorship, which is, after all, the only matter of importance. The learned presbyter of Aquileia cannot be supposed to mean that the Apostles used the very word *Symbolum* itself (from the Greek σύμβολον), but rather the equivalent for that word in their own language; the more so that, as he expressly tells us, they did not deliver the Creed in writing, but by word of mouth. In any case, it is far from clear that he is citing the circumstance of the name as part of the old tradition. Nor is there anything in the text or context of the passage to warrant anyone

[1] See, however, p. 131, chap. VI, sect. 3.

in imputing to Rufinus the statement that the Creed was composed by the Apostles on the very day of Pentecost. On the contrary, his *Discessuri igitur* implies it to have been the mind of Rufinus that the Creed was not drawn up by the Apostles till the eve of their dispersion.

In the beginning of his exposition of the Symbol, Rufinus notes the fact that the text is not exactly the same in all the Churches. Thus the Eastern Churches profess belief in "One God the Father Almighty". In the Creed of the Roman Church, as in that of Aquileia, the word "one" is wanting. Nor does the Old Roman Creed contain the addition, "maker of heaven and earth", found, with variations, in the Creeds of the Eastern Churches. Again, the words "He descended into hell", found in the Creed of Aquileia, are wanting in the Roman as well as in the Eastern Creed. Rufinus, however, observes that the truth expressed in these words is implied in the words "was buried", that precede; for as the body went down into the grave so the soul went down into the place where the souls of the faithful departed awaited the coming of the Redeemer. Belief in "the communion of saints" is not expressed in any of the earlier forms, even in that which St Augustine expounds in his homilies[1]. But this, too, is implied in the preceding article, "the holy Church". Finally, the words, "life everlasting", with which the Creed now closes, though found in some at least of the Eastern formularies, are only implied in the words, "resurrection of the flesh", which invariably form the conclusion of the Western Creed up to and including the time of St Augustine.

[1] *In traditione Symboli*, Serm. 212, 213, 214 (Migne, tome 38)

The foregoing, with some other slight differences in the wording, constitute the variations in the formula of the Apostolic Faith which served as the Baptismal Creed in the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries. Variations, as they are, apparent rather than real, in the words, but not in the underlying ideas, they do but witness to the unity of the primitive and archetypal form of the Christian Confession of Faith. But where, if anywhere, was this archetypal form preserved? Rufinus testifies that in "divers Churches" words were added to the Creed originally delivered to the faithful. He agrees with St Ambrose in affirming that the Roman Church ever kept the Symbol of the Apostles inviolate. "And this", he adds, "I believe to be owing to the fact that no heresy ever had its origin there". For additions were made elsewhere, as he proceeds to point out—not indeed from without but from within, not by way of putting forward a new truth, but by way of bringing into clearer light the old—to meet the rising heresies.

III

The Tradition and the Legend.—At the close of the fourth century, therefore, and the beginning of the fifth, the Creed delivered to the class of catechumens known as *competentes* was the self-same, in substance and meaning, throughout the whole Christian world. And of this Creed Rufinus and Jerome and Ambrose and Leo the Great declare the Apostles to have been the authors, or at any rate declare this to have been the received tradition in their day. Whatever is to be thought of this tradition, one thing is clear, and ought to be kept clearly in view by anyone who really

wishes to reach the truth in this matter : the tradition in question stands upon an altogether different footing, and should be kept quite separate from the legend which, in the after time, grew out of it, or rather was woven around it, to the effect that each of the Apostles contributed a distinct article to the Creed, Peter contributing the first and Matthias the twelfth and last. This appendage to the old tradition is first met with in a sermon long believed to have been written by St Augustine, but now known to be the work of some anonymous scribe at a later date. Its legendary character is sufficiently attested by its spurious origin. It is true that the Symbol could have been so drawn up ; also that St Leo the Great, in his epistle to Pulcheria (ep. 31, 4), speaks of it as being *duodecim apostolorum totidem signata sententiis*. This, however, should not be taken to mean more than it says, to wit, that the Creed is stamped with the seal of Apostolic authorship by the fact of its containing as many articles as there were members of the Apostolic College from the beginning. As a matter of fact, the words *vitam aeternam* which constitute the article ascribed to Matthias by the author of the sermon above referred to, were not part of the Creed known to St Augustine, nor of the Old Roman or Apostles' Creed.

The legend has been relegated to the limbo of vain things fondly invented. But what of the tradition ? Must it, too, go the same way ? That it must appears to be the verdict of what many look upon to-day as the court of last resort in all questions of this kind—the school of historical criticism. Before accepting the verdict as final, it will be well to inquire whether the method by which it has been reached is such as

would be likely to lead those who employ it into the truth. We have to consider whether the Symbol of Faith known as the Apostles' Creed came within the Discipline of the Secret, and whether, if it did, this does not logically bar all movement looking to the discovery of its authorship along the path trodden by historical criticism.

IV

The Symbol and the Discipline of the Secret.—The reader will have gathered from what has been said in the Introduction why the Discipline of the Secret was inaugurated in the nascent Church, and how strictly it was enforced. It was only after persecution ceased and the old pagan Empire of the Romans was converted and baptized in the person of Constantine, that the *Disciplina Arcani* was gradually relaxed. That it extended to the Symbol and still guarded it even in the days of St Augustine, is a fact that can be established on unimpeachable testimony. We have, first of all, the witness of Augustine himself. Over and over again he repeats in his homilies that the Symbol is not given in writing. "Nobody", he says, "writes the Symbol that it may be read[1]". When delivering it to the catechumens a week or two before their baptism, he warns them: "In no wise are you to write down the words of the Symbol in

[1] *De Symb. ad Catech.* (Migne, tome 40, col. 627). Migne decides in favour of the genuineness of this homily on intrinsic grounds. But in homilies on the Creed, which are unquestionably St Augustine's, the "resurrection of the flesh" is the last article; in this one, on the other hand, the words "in vitam æternam" are cited as part of the Creed. This would seem to cast a doubt on its genuineness. Neither in the homilies certainly genuine, nor in his *De Fide et Symbolo*, nor in his *Enchiridion de Fide*, etc., does St Augustine cite as part of the Symbol the words in question. See on this subject, Chap. IV, sects. 2 and 3.

order to commit them to memory. You are to learn them by ear (*audiendo*); and even after you have learned them, you are not to write them, but to retain them in memory and rehearse them". He goes on to say that everything which they are about to hear in the Symbol is contained in Scripture, but that, as gathered together and put in a formula, it is not lawful to write it (*non licet scribi*). This he conceives to have been foreshadowed in those words of the Old Testament: "This is the covenant that I shall make with them after those days, said the Lord; I will give my law in their bowels, and in their hearts will I write it". "In token of this", he adds, "the Symbol is learned by ear; nor is it written on tablets, or any kind of material, but in the heart[1]". In another homily[2], when he comes to the point where the delivery (*traditio*) of the Symbol took place, he says: "These are the words that you are faithfully to learn by heart and recite from memory", that is, on the day set for their baptism. The Saint adds, within brackets, the following words, which he set down when he first put the sermon in writing: "(After this preface the whole Symbol is to be given out, no word of comment being interspersed therewith: *I believe in God the Father Almighty*, and the other words that follow. It is not the custom, as you know, to put the Symbol in writing; which being said, the following discourse is to be added)". St Augustine thus scrupled to write the words of the Creed even in the manuscript of his own sermons. All this tallies with the testimony of St Jerome, already quoted, that the Symbol of Faith, "handed down from the Apostles, is not written with

[1] Serm. 212 (Migne, tome 38; col. 1060). [2] Serm. 214 (*Ibid.*, col. 1066).

ink on paper, but engraved on the fleshly tablets of the heart" ; and with the words of Rufinus, also cited above, that the Rule of Faith formulated by those whom Christ first sent to teach and baptize all nations was not to be delivered to men to be written on paper or parchment, but to be preserved in the hearts of believers, so that it might be known for certain that "no one had learnt it from books, which at times fall into the hands of unbelievers, but from the tradition of the Apostles".

Other witnesses, in the West, to the law of secrecy which guarded the Symbol, are St Peter Chrysologus and the author of the *Explanatio Symboli*. The former in almost all his sermons on the Symbol, cautions his hearers not to put the Creed in writing, lest it should fall into the hands of the unbeliever. Enough to cite from one. "The Faith", he says, "which we believe and teach, not with the pen, but with the living voice, let us consign to the secret closet of the heart, not to paper. Let it be committed to memory, not to writing, lest the divine gift be profaned by contact with earthly things ; lest the uninitiated beholder seize upon the heavenly secret, and what is life to the believer prove to the unbeliever a source of spiritual ruin[1]". The author of the *Explanatio*, reputed to be St Ambrose, tells us that tradition forbade the writing of the Symbol, and maintains that the living memory will conserve it better than the written page. The passage runs : "I wish you to bear in mind, since you have to recite the Symbol, that you must not write it. Let no one write it. Why ? Because such is the tradition. What, then is to be done ? It is to be held fast. But how can it

[1] Serm. 60 (Migne, tome 52).

be held, you will say to me, if it is not written? Rather can it be held if it be not written. How do you mean? Let me explain. What you write you do not set to work to bring home to yourself by thinking over it daily; you feel so sure about it because you can read it over any time. But what you don't write, you are afraid it will slip away from you, and you therefore set to work at once to rehearse it day by day[1]".

To know the Symbol by heart was to the early Christians a matter of life and death. In a letter " to the aged Alypius[2]" St Augustine relates how a pagan of the name of Dioscorus had a dearly loved daughter whose life was despaired of, and how, upon his taking a vow to become a Christian, she was restored to health. Failing to keep his vow, he was struck blind. All at once he bethought him that his blindness was a judgment of God upon him for having broken his vow. A second time he vows he will perform his first vow if he recovers his sight. This he does, and is duly baptized, but he has not got the Symbol by heart, alleging as excuse that he is not able. He is now struck with paralysis, which extends to his tongue. Admonished in a dream that this has happened to him because of his not having recited the Symbol from memory, he makes a confession to this effect in writing, learns the Symbol by heart, and is freed at length from all his infirmities. Modern incredulity may smile at the childlike simplicity of him who tells the story. But the great Bishop of Hippo, were he still with us, could say, as Newman said in like circumstances: " Hippoclides doesn't care ".

[1] Migne, tome 17, col. 1160. [2] Migne, tome 33, col. 1012.

V

Testimony of Eastern Fathers.—We will now turn to the Eastern Church. Our first witness shall be St Cyril of Jerusalem, who became Bishop of that ancient See about the middle of the fourth century. His testimony is so explicit, and so much to the purpose, that it must be given at length in his own words. He is addressing the class of *competentes* on the eve of their baptism:

"But take thou and hold, as a learner, and in profession, that faith only which is now delivered to thee by the Church, and is fenced round out of all Scripture. For since all cannot read the Scriptures, but some as being unlearned, others by business, are hindered from knowledge (of them), in order that the soul may not perish from want of instruction, we comprehend the whole doctrine of the faith in a few sentences. This I wish you to remember in the very phrase, and to rehearse it with all diligence amongst yourselves, not writing it on paper, but graving it by memory on your heart; being on your guard in your exercise, lest haply a catechumen should overhear the things delivered to you. This I wish you to have as a provision by the way during the whole period of life, and besides this never to receive any other".—*Catech.*, 5; n. 12[1].

"And I could wish to say this openly", are the words of St Chrysostom in his fortieth homily on the First Epistle to the Corinthians[2] "but I dare not on account of those who are not initiated. They render the exposition of the subject more difficult to us, inasmuch as we are constrained either not to speak plainly, or to make known the mysteries to them. But I will speak, as far as may be, covertly and in a

[1] Migne, tome 33. [2] Migne, tome 61

veiled manner. For after the recital of those mystical and dread words, and the awful canons of doctrine that have come down from heaven, we add this also at the end, when we are to be baptized and are bidden to say, *I believe in the resurrection of the dead*".

St Basil the Great witnesses for the Church in Cappadocia. "Of the tenets and teachings of the Church", he writes, "we have some from the doctrine committed to writing, and some that have been handed down to us in a secret manner from the tradition of the Apostles. These have equal authority in the realm of conscience; and no one will gainsay either of them, no one, that is, who has the least experience of the laws of the Church[1]". He adds: "It would take me all day to set forth the secret teachings and practices [literally, mysteries] of the Church that have been handed down without writing. To pass over the rest, the very Confession of Faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, from what written records have we it[2]"? he asks.

In Clement of Alexandria we have a witness whose testimony dates over a century and a half further back than that of any writer hitherto cited, for he flourished in the latter half of the second century. His references to the Symbol are not so explicit as are those of the other writers; the Discipline of the Secret was even more rigorously enforced in his day; yet no one who reads his words can doubt that the Symbol is in his mind. He tells us how he was himself personally acquainted with men who "preserved the true tradition of the blessed doctrine, directly from Peter, and James, and John, and Paul,

[1] *De Spirit. Sancto*, c. 27; n. 66 (Migne, tome 32).

[2] αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐκ ποίων γραμμάτων ἔχομεν.—*Ibid.*, n. 67.

the Holy Apostles, having received it in succession, the son from the father[1]". He calls it "the celebrated and venerable rule of tradition, commencing from the origin of the universe", which seems to point to the profession of faith in the "Creator of heaven and earth" contained in the first article of the Creed. He speaks of it as knowledge "which has come down, transmitted without writing to a few by successions from the Apostles", and distinguishes between it and the apostolic doctrine contained in Scripture, saying: "For as the doctrine, so also was the tradition of all the Apostles, one".

Now, this "blessed tradition", which was handed down orally from the Apostles, and which, being a tradition of "doctrine", must at the least have included the Symbol, whatever else it may have included, he affirms to have been guarded as a secret. He conceives it to be "the delineation of a soul that loves to guard the blessed tradition so that it may not escape". He says that, "Secret things, like God, are entrusted, not to writing but to oral teaching", with much more to the same purpose.

Let me make an end of citation with a passage from the *Stromata*:

"Some of these secret things I deliberately pass by, making a selection after reflection, being afraid to commit to writing things which we are upon our guard even to speak about; not from any envy, for that is not lawful, but from fear lest those who may meet with them, taking them in a wrong sense, might fall into error, and we should thus be found to be giving, as they say who use proverbs, a sword to a child. . . There are some things which my writing will obscurely indicate; and on some things it will dwell;

[1] *Strom.*, l. 1; c. 1 (Migne, tome 8).

others it will only name, and will attempt, while concealing, yet to declare, and though hiding to manifest, and though silent to point out; and it will lay before the readers the dogmas that have been taught by celebrated heresies, and will oppose to them all that ought to be premised to the interior contemplation of knowledge, which will be proceeded in by us according to the celebrated and venerable rule of tradition, commencing from the origin of the universe. . . ".—*Strom.*, 1. i.

VI

Conclusion.—There has been produced evidence enough that the Creed of the early Church was hedged about and jealously guarded by the Discipline of the Secret; that the early Christian writers religiously refrained from reproducing it in their works, and even from putting it at all in writing. But consider how fraught with significance this is, and how effectually it serves to discredit the method of historical criticism as applied to the authorship of the Creed. Your ingenious critic, with his vast apparatus of learning, with an industry and patience in research beyond all praise and worthy of all emulation, ransacks the writings of sub-apostolic and early times for the Symbol, and declares he cannot find it. No marvel that he cannot find it: he seeks the living among the dead. The Creed is in the heart and on the lips of the Church of the living God; he is looking for some fossil remains of a casket that might be thought to have enclosed it, but did not; for, to cite once more the words of St Jerome: " The Symbol of our Faith and Hope, handed down to us from the Apostles, is not written with ink on paper, but graved on the fleshly tablets of the heart ". To the weary

and sore-perplexed critic, peering into ancient tomes, groping in the twilight of those early times, seeking in vain the source whence came the Symbol, the words of Augustine and Jerome and Rufinus, of Basil and Cyril and Clement, should have been as the legend on the sign-post to give timely warning of NO THOROUGHFARE. But he heeded not the warning; he had no eyes for it; he would plod his way, groping ever, till at length he has fetched up in a blind alley. For this is just where its failure to find other than an anonymous author for the great Creed of Christendom has left historical criticism—in a cul-de-sac.

To the searcher for the Symbol among the literary remains of the early ages, we might almost say as the Angel said to those who sought in the sepulchre the Lord of the Symbol—*surrexit non est hic*, "He is risen; He is not here". For those in whose minds and hearts the Symbol came from the Apostles down to later generations have mounted to that "house of many mansions" where Faith is merged in Vision. "When we reach that place where we shall reign", says St Augustine, in his fifty-eighth homily, "there will be no more need of our saying the Symbol; we shall see God; God Himself will be our Vision and the vision of God will be the reward of this our Faith".

CHAPTER II

THE QUEST OF THE SYMBOL

I

True Starting-point.—What the living Church of God handed down from generation to generation of believers as the Symbol of the Apostles was, with slight variations affecting neither its substance nor its essential meaning, the Baptismal Creed of Christendom in the fourth and fifth centuries. St Leo the Great, who became Pope in A.D. 440, writing to the monks of Palestine, refers to it as "the Symbol of salvation which you recited before many witnesses when you received baptism[1]". And again, in a letter against Eutyches, addressed to Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, he says, speaking of that arch-heretic: "What instruction has he got from the sacred pages of the New Testament or the Old, when he does not understand even the elements of the Symbol? Of the Symbol which is on the lips of all candidates for baptism throughout the whole world, that old man has not yet grasped the meaning[2]". This period, then, in which it is matter of historical record that the Symbol was the Baptismal Creed of the Universal Church, is the true starting-point in the quest of its origin.

[1] Ep. 124; c. 8 (Migne, tome 54, col. 1068).
[2] *Ad Flav.*, c. 1 (Migne, tome 54, col. 757).

II

The Symbol One.—Before setting out on our quest, we shall do well to consider what our real objective is, and by what way we are to reach it. At the period we have taken for our starting-point, the Church of Rome has its Symbol, and the Church of Aquileia has its Symbol, and the Church of Antioch has its Symbol, and the Church of Alexandria has its Symbol. In short, the principal Churches throughout the world have each its own Symbol. Are we to seek a diverse origin for each of these Symbols, or for all a common origin? We must find one origin for all. And why? Because, after all, in spite of variations in the form and wording, the Symbol is one—one in its scope, one in its meaning, one in its structure, one in type, one in all its essential elements. So little does St Leo regard these variations in the form of the Symbol as affecting its unity that he affirms it to be, not only one in all the Churches, but "unchangeable" as well[1]. From the beginning there is "one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all". The Faith of the One Fold is one from the first: therefore is the Symbol or Confession of the Faith one. The one Church can have but one Creed—this needs not even to be pointed out to those that are of the household of the faith. As for those that are without, they have only to glance into the writings of the early Fathers to find how accordant their testimony is on this point. St Leo does but echo the words of Christian Antiquity, as we shall have occasion to point out presently, when he speaks of the one and unchangeable Confession of Faith.

[1] *Ad Epis. Gall.*, c. 2 (Migne, tome 54, col. 986).

The conclusion thus reached on logical, theological, and historical grounds regarding the unity of the Symbol, is borne out also by analogical considerations. In living organisms unity of structure implies unity of type, and unity of type involves unity of origin. Organisms sprung from the same source will vary; variation, indeed, is the very condition of their growth; but the unity of structure and type that is discernible in them will ever attest their common origin. So it is with the formularies of the Faith in the fourth and fifth centuries. Despite the variations that are visible on the surface, it is but an unpractised eye that will not detect the underlying sameness of type and lineament which bespeaks their common authorship. Even those who deny the Apostolic origin of the Symbol realize that there is an archetype to which all variant forms must be traced, though they are at a loss to know what that is, or where they are to look for it. Dr Kattenbusch identifies it with the Old Roman Creed; Dr Loofs follows the lead of Caspari in tracing it to the Johannine circle in Asia Minor[1]. Strange that none of these critics has been led to trace the archetypal Symbol to the Mother Church of Jerusalem. The cradle of Christianity would have been a not unlikely place to look for the aboriginal Creed of Christianity. And it might not have proved, it should seem, a bad "working hypothesis", that the men whom Christ Himself commissioned in Jerusalem to "teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost", had, in virtue of that commission and in accordance with it, drawn up the Formula of Faith which should serve all nations

[1] *The Church Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1902, pp. 218-22.

for their Baptismal Creed. But the method of historical criticism barred this hypothesis. Besides, it is not pleasant for people to be made to feel as the swart Moor of Venice felt when he exclaimed :

" Othello's occupation's gone ".

III

Method of Historical Criticism.—For the one Symbol, therefore, which, as Cassian, the disciple and deacon of St Chrysostom, puts it, " expresses the Faith of all the Churches[1] ", we shall seek one origin. The variations in its form are easily accounted for by the necessity that arose in particular Churches for a more explicit statement of the doctrines it contained. And by what way shall we proceed in our quest ? Not by the way of historical criticism, for that way is blocked. It leads those who follow it, as has been already pointed out, into a cul-de-sac. The historical critic searches for the Symbol, or traces of the Symbol, among the remains of early Christian literature, after much the same manner as the biologist seeks for a species, or traces of a species, among the fossil remains of early geological epochs[2]. This is all well enough. But in the eagerness of his search, he overlooks a point of capital importance. Between literary remains and the fossil remains of plant or animal there is a radical distinction. The latter are mute and voiceless ; the former, being the product of the living mind, have a tongue and can deliver their message to those who find them. Now, here is where the method of historical criticism is at fault. It takes the Symbol,

[1] *De Incar. Christi*, l. 6, c. 3 (Migne, tome 50, col. 145).
[2] *Dogma, Gerarchia e Culto*, p. 322.

by dint of piecing together the scattered elements of it, from the writings of Cyril and Rufinus and Augustine, and pays not the slightest heed to the warning which these same writings deliver at the same time. The very same writers who are the first to describe and expound the Symbol, and in the very act of describing it, tell us, in the most distinct way, and with patient iteration, that they did not themselves get the Symbol from written records, but from the lips of the living Church. What sort of criticism is it that is willing to trust these writers when they tell us what the articles of the Symbol were in their day, and in what order they were arranged, but will not trust them when they tell us how the Symbol was transmitted to them by their forefathers in the faith? It is silly of the critic to fancy that he can run with the hare and hunt with the hounds after this fashion. "I will accept nothing", he declares, "but what I can find documentary evidence for". All very well. But let the whole evidence be taken. It will not do to take this because it fits in with a preconceived theory, and reject that because it doesn't. The method that picks and chooses in this way is neither critical nor historical. "The very Confession of Faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost", says St Basil, "from what written records have we it"? The critic may, if he likes, put this statement of St Basil's to the test, and proceed to ransack written records for the Confession of Faith. He has a perfect right to do this. But he has no warrant, and no shadow of warrant, on failing to find it, as he was foredoomed to fail, to say that the Symbol did not then exist at all. This is an assumption so arbitrary that it is difficult to speak of it with composure. His

assumed first principle will not let the critic see that he has been looking in the wrong place for the Symbol.

In our quest for the origin of the Creed, then, we shall set out, not with an assumed first principle, but with a fact proved by documents, and proved up to the hilt, namely, that the Creed was not transmitted in writing to the Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries, but handed on by word of mouth, and "graved on the fleshly tablets of the heart". The knowledge of this fact will be as a lamp unto our feet. In the light of it we shall not look for the Symbol itself in the writings of the earlier time, assured beforehand that it is not to be found there. We shall look only for traces of it, tokens of its existence in the minds and hearts of believers, in the mouths and on the lips of the neophyte and the martyr, and these we shall find in plenty.

IV

The Creed in the Third Century.—Eutychianus, who became Pope in A.D. 275, says in the course of a pastoral charge to the Roman clergy: "See that you teach your flocks the Symbol and the Lord's Prayer[1]". In his letter to Magnus, written before the middle of the third century, St Cyprian declares that, while those who are cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church "are baptized in the same Symbol as we are", yet they "have not the same law (interpretation) of the Symbol as we have, nor the same interrogatory[2]". In the time of St Cyprian, therefore, the Baptismal Creed was known as the Symbol. And the Saint draws a clear distinction between this

[1] *Exhort. ad Presby.* (Migne, tome 5, col. 166).
[2] *Ep. ad Magnum*, c. 7 (Migne, tome 3, col. 1143).

Creed and the *trina interrogatio* or triple interrogatory which is in use in the Church to this day. It is important to note this. The Symbol goes before the interrogatory in Cyprian, and this is the logical order. For the triple query of the minister of baptism supposes a knowledge of the Symbol in the candidate for baptism, else he could not make an intelligent reply. From this we may conclude that the Symbol is not derived from the interrogatory, but conversely, the interrogatory from the Symbol. Finally, there are distinct traces of the Symbol, nearly all the elements of it, indeed, to be found in a treatise on the Trinity written by Novatian, the schismatical anti-Pope and founder, conjointly with Novatus, of the Novatian heresy, about A.D. 260. The opening words are: "The Rule of Truth requires that we should first of all believe in God the Father and Lord Almighty[1]".

V

The Creed in Tertullian.—Tertullian is a witness to the faith and traditions of the second century, his most notable works having been written in its closing years, or in the opening years of the century that followed. There are in his writings references almost without number to the Creed of the Church in his day. He does not call it by the name of Symbol, though he does use in describing it the word "tessera", which is also from the Greek and has the same meaning. To Tertullian the Creed is "the doctrine", "the tradition", and more especially the "Law" or "Rule of Faith". In three several works[2] he

[1] *De Trinit.*, c. 1 (Migne, *ibid.*, col. 885).

[2] *De Praescript., Adv. Praxeam, De Virginibus Velandis* (Migne, tome 2, cols. 26, 156, 889).

gives us a more or less explicit statement of its articles, with a certain slight variation in each case. These are exhibited below in a tabular form for purposes of comparison with one another and with the Old Roman Creed.

Creed Forms in Tertullian

Old Roman Creed	De Praescript c. 13	Adv. Prax. c. 2	De Virg. Vel. c. 1
(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty	(1) I believe in one God, maker of the world,	(1) We believe one only God,	(1) Believing in the one only God Almighty, maker of the world,
(2) and in Christ Jesus His only Son, our Lord,	(2) the Word called His Son, Jesus Christ,	(2) and the Son and Word of one only God, called Jesus Christ,	(2) and His Son, Jesus Christ,
(3) Born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,	(3) by the Spirit and power of God the Father made flesh in Mary's womb, and born of her,	(3) born Man and God of the Virgin,	(3) born of the Virgin Mary,
(4) Crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried,	(4) fastened to a Cross,	(4) Him suffered, dead, and buried,	(4) crucified under Pontius Pilate,
(5) Rose again the third day from the dead.	(5) He rose the third day;	(5) brought back to life by the Father,	(5) on the third day brought to life from the dead,
(6) Ascended into heaven,	(6) was caught up into heaven,	(6) taken again into heaven,	(6) received in heaven,
(7) Sitteth at the right hand of the Father,	(7) sat at the right hand of the Father,	(7) sits at right hand of the Father,	(7) sits now at right hand of Father,
(8) whence He shall come to judge quick and dead.	(8) will come in glory to take the good into life eternal, and condemn the wicked to perpetual fire,	(8) will come to judge living and dead,	(8) will come to judge living and dead,
(9) And in the Holy Ghost,	(9) Sent the vicarious power of His Holy Spirit,	(9) From the Father the Holy Ghost Paraclete,	
(10) the holy Church,	(10) to govern believers,		
(11) remission of sins,			
(12) resurrection of the flesh.	(12) restoration of the flesh.		(12) through resurrection of the flesh.

We have here, in the writings of Tertullian, all the articles of the Old Roman Creed except the tenth (which is implied in one instance) and the eleventh. Are we to infer, because these two articles are wanting, that they were not to be found in the Creed that was in use in his day? By no means. Tertullian does not pretend to cite that formulary word for word. The words given above in parallel columns are picked from their context, where they are found, in some instances, mingled with extraneous matter. Besides, the phrases in the several columns do not tally exactly with one another, nor with the words of the Old Roman Creed. Nor is the same number of articles given in each case, nor are the same ones. Thus, the twelfth article is wanting in *Adversus Praxeam*, and the ninth in *De Virginibus Velandis*, wherein the form approaches most closely to that of the Old Roman Creed. But who can doubt that the Rule of Faith which Tertullian so often refers to, and which he declares to be "absolutely one, sole, unchangeable, and irreformable[1]", had its setting of words the same for all?

It seems plain that Tertullian's object in varying, as he does, the words in which he conveys the doctrines of the Creed was to veil from the uninitiated the Sacred Symbol of the Faith, in accordance with the prevailing Discipline of the Secret. The economy of his language recalls that passage in the *Stromata* of St Clement of Alexandria, where he says that there are some things which his writing "will only name, and will attempt, while concealing yet to declare, and though hiding to manifest, and though silent to point out." One is at a loss otherwise to account

[1] *De Virg. Vel.*, loc. cit.

for the curious circumstance that, in the three several places where Tertullian professes to be setting forth the content of the Rule of Faith, once and once only does he use exactly the same form of words, as a glance at the table given above will show.

But be this as it may, certain it is that we cannot rightly infer a given article to have been wanting in the Creed of Tertullian from the mere circumstance of his not making explicit mention of it. In the very passage in which he professes to be giving the " one, unchangeable, irreformable " Rule of Faith, he omits the ninth article, which he nevertheless gives in the other two places. What is more, we gather from a passage in his *Liber de Baptismo* (c. 6) that the tenth article, embodying belief in " the holy Church ", was part of the Creed in his day. " Since, however ", he there says, " the profession of faith is made and the pledge of salvation given in the name of the three, mention of the Church is necessarily added. For where the three are, that is, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, there is the Church, which is their body[1] ". The Baptismal Creed, therefore, included the tenth article in Tertullian's time. And if one were to infer from his not mentioning it in any of the three passages referred to above, that it was not included, the inference would be contrary to fact. Is there not the very strongest kind of presumption that a similar inference drawn from the same premises with regard to the eleventh article would similarly be unwarranted ? Besides, the doctrine of the remission of sins is expressly affirmed in the treatise on Baptism (chaps. 6 and 10).

[1] Migne, tome 1, col. 1206.

VI

The Creed in Irenæus.—Irenæus, the disciple of that Polycarp "who had not only been trained by the Apostles, and had conversed with many of those who had seen Christ, but also had been constituted by the Apostles Bishop over Asia, in the Church of Smyrna[1]" is our most authoritative witness to the existence from the beginning and the Apostolic authorship of the Creed. He speaks of it in one place as "this outline[2]" (in the Greek, χαρακτῆρα) which corresponds to "symbol", the "tessera" of Tertullian, and the Latin "indicium" of Rufinus), but usually as the Tradition, and specifically as the Rule of Truth. With him, too, as with Tertullian, this "Rule of Truth which he received by his baptism[3]", is one and the same in all the world. After setting forth the principle articles of it, as exhibited in the first column of the syllabus given below, he goes on to say:

"This preaching and this faith, the Church, as we said before, dispersed as she is in the whole world, keeps diligently, as though she dwelt but in one house; and her belief herein is just as if she had only one soul, and the same heart, and she proclaims and teaches and delivers these things harmoniously, as possessing one mouth. Thus while the languages of the world differ, the tenor of the tradition is one and the same. And neither have the Churches situated in the regions of Germany believed otherwise, nor do they hold any other tradition, neither in the parts of Spain, nor among the Celts, nor in the East, nor in

[1] *Adv. Haer*, Bk 3, c. 3, § 4. I cite the English translation by Keble. Of the Greek original of this great work of Irenæus only some fragments have come down to us. The Latin version, very ancient, is the basis of all modern versions. [2] Bk 2, c. 28, § 1. [3] Bk 1, c. 9, § 4.

Egypt, nor in Libya, nor those which are situate in the middle parts of the world. . . . Nor will he who is weak in discourse abate aught of the Tradition. Yea, the Faith being one and the same, neither he that is able to speak much of it hath anything over, nor hath he that speaks but little any lack[1] ". He had already said : " The Church planted throughout the world to the ends of the earth has received from the Apostles and their disciples that Faith which is in one God the Father Almighty " (Migne, tome 10, n. 1).

As in Tertullian, so in Irenæus, we find three different forms of the Creed. They are arranged, article by article, in the following syllabus :

Syllabus of Creed Forms Found in Irenæus

Book First, c. 10, 1	Book Third, c. 4, 2	Book Fourth, c. 33, 7
(1) Faith in one God the Father Almighty ;	(1) Who believe in one God the Framer of Heaven and Earth,	(1) His faith is entire in one God Almighty, of whom are all things ;
(2) and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God	(2) by Christ Jesus, the Son of God	(2) and in the Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord.
(3) made flesh of a Virgin,	(3) who submitted to the birth which was to be of the Virgin ;	(3) the Son of God become man.
(4) and the Passion,	(4) who suffered also under Pontius Pilate.	(4)
(5) and the Rising from the dead	(5) and risen again,	(5)
(6) and the bodily Ascension into Heaven,	(6) and being received in brightness	(6)
(7)	(7)	(7)
(8) And His Coming from the Heavens in the glory of the Father . . . that He may administer just judgment to them all,	(8) will come in glory as the Judge of them that are judged	(8)
(9) and in the Holy Ghost,	(9)	(9) And in the Spirit God

[1] *Ibid.*, c. 10, § 2.

Book First, c. 10, 1	Book Third, c. 4, 2	Book Fourth, c. 33, 7
(10) who declared . . . the Œconomies,	(10)	(10) the original system of the Church in the whole world
(11) such as . . . persevered in His love, whether from the first or after penitency,	(11)	(11)
(12) and to raise up all flesh of all human nature.	(12)	(12)

To Irenæus the Church is not so much an article of the faith as its teacher and guardian. Not the less was there mention of it in his Creed, as appears even more clearly from the summary of the Creed that he gives again in Bk 5, c. 20: "But those who are of the Church have a regular path, encircling the whole world, the tradition thereof from the Apostles being secure; which path grants us to behold that all have one and the same faith, since all teach one and the same Father, believe the same Economy of the Son of God's Incarnation, and know the same gift of the Spirit, and meditate on the same precepts, and maintain the same form of government over the Church, and wait for the same coming of the Lord, and maintain the same salvation of the whole man, i.e. of the soul and body".

From all of these forms the seventh article is wanting and the eleventh, which latter, however, is very clearly implied in the words cited in the first column. We note the same peculiarity in these as in the forms found in Tertullian—a marked difference in the wording of the several articles, which one can hardly believe to have been accidental. One thing is plain: neither Tertullian nor Irenæus gives us the very words of their Rule of Faith. Those words were written in their memories from the day of their baptism, but as if to baffle the curiosity of the curious,

they do not choose to write them out. To try, therefore, to piece together from their writings the fabric of the Creed just as it stood in their day, were as futile as the act of one who should essay to build upon the shifting sands. But knowing what we do and what they tell us of the veneration in which this Rule of Truth was held, the jealous care with which it was guarded, the pains that were taken to grave it "on the fleshly tablets of the heart" of lettered and unlettered alike, the absolute oneness of the Faith of which it was the authorized Formula, the quality of unchangeableness that belonged and still belongs to it, we seem certainly not to lack warrant for affirming that the Creed learned by Irenæus from Polycarp was, article for article, if not word for word, the same as that which was recited two centuries after in the Church of Smyrna ; and that the Creed in which the catechumen Tertullian professed his faith on the day of his baptism, was, in like manner, the same as that which St Augustine expounds in his homilies.

This Rule of Truth, Irenæus assures us in the passage cited above, was the same in the East as in the West. And it was transmitted by word of mouth. " To this Rule ", he says, " consent many nations of the barbarians, those I mean who believe in Christ, having salvation written by the Spirit in their hearts, without paper and ink, and diligently keeping the old Tradition, who believe in One God the Framer of Heaven and Earth and of all things that are in them, by Christ Jesus the Son of God ". After which he goes on to give the other articles that are to be found in the second column of the syllabus.

VII

Conclusion.—Let us here pause to consider how untenable is the position of the votaries of historical criticism. Relying mainly, if not wholly, on the testimony of Tertullian and Irenæus, they affirm that the Symbol existed in the latter half of the second century, but it did not exist in the earlier half of the same century because it is not to be found in any writings. Consequently, it must have been composed about the middle of that century. By whom, and where? Probably at Rome, by some one or other whose name has been withheld[1]. We are asked to believe that the Creed of the Christian Church, the Creed which we know on the testimony of witnesses who lived at the time, to have been, already in the second half of the century, the unvarying Standard of the Christian Faith in all the Churches from the West even to the farthest East, was composed about the middle of that same century by an anonymous somebody. This Creed, which all the Bishops assembled at Nice could scarce venture to change by the addition of words that did but more explicitly declare the meaning of one or two of its articles, is assumed to have been framed and imposed upon the Christian world less than two centuries before by somebody or other whose very name is buried in oblivion. *Credat Judaeus!*

But this is not all. The very men, on whose testimony the existence of the Creed in the latter half of the second century is known, declare repeatedly, in the most explicit and emphatic way, that it came down from the Apostles.

[1] *Dogma, Gerarchio e Culto*, p. 324.

CHAPTER III

HARNACK ON THE CREED

I

Harnack's Mental Equipment.—We have said that Irenæus is our greatest witness to the Apostolic authorship of the Symbol. The disciple of Polycarp, he is but one step removed from St John the Evangelist; hailing from Asia Minor, Bishop in Gaul, he is the connecting link between the East and the West. Before citing his testimony, however, and that of Tertullian, some notice must be taken of a singular opinion of Harnack's. This view of the Rule of Truth cited by Irenæus is part of Harnack's general theory regarding the origin of the Symbol, and cannot profitably, or indeed at all, be dealt with apart from it. Also, we must take account of the methods and mental equipment of the man.

Harnack has said his last, or rather his latest, word on the origin of the Symbol in an article written for the third edition of Herzog's *Realencyclopadie*, which has been translated into English by the Rev. Stewart Means and edited by Thomas Bailey Saunders.[1] Splendidly equipped, as this distinguished German writer is, in respect of mental gifts and scholarship, he yet lacks some qualifications that are indispensable to the one who would trace the origin of the Symbol.

[1] *The Apostles' Creed*, by Adolf Harnack, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1901.

He lacks the gift of Faith, to begin with; he lacks the conception of the Church of Christ as one in all nations—one Fold in which there is one Faith and one Baptism; and he lacks the knowledge, or, at any rate, the realization of the fact that the Symbol was not first given in writing, nor handed down from one generation to another in writing, nor suffered to be put at all in writing until the Discipline of the Secret began to be relaxed. As a consequence of these deficiencies, there are some things that Harnack does not see at all; and, in the case of the things that he does see, he not infrequently magnifies what is trifling in itself, and makes little of, or ignores, what is important. Groping in the dim light of those early ages, he reminds one of the blind man in the Gospel whose sight was being given back to him, and who at first saw "men as trees walking." In short, Harnack lacks the clearer insight which Faith gives, and he lacks the sense of perspective which would enable him to see things in their true proportions.

II

Specimens of His Critical Work.—Let me give a few examples of Harnack's work as a critic from the little book before me. On page 4, he says: "Indeed, the Eastern Church has at no time traced any creed to an Apostolic origin." This is a case of ignoring positive testimony. The Fathers of the Eastern Church will be cited later on. On page 27, he draws attention to the position of "remissionem peccatorum, resurrectionem carnis et vitam aeternam per sanctam ecclesiam" in the Creed of the Carthaginian Church. Here he mistakes the baptismal interrogatory for the

Symbol. The heretics, says St Cyprian, from whom the words are taken, "lie in the interrogatory when they say, 'Dost thou believe in the remission of sins . . . through the Holy Church?' since they have not the Church[1]".

On page 17 we read: "I cannot, however, convince myself that twelve divisions [of the Creed] were originally intended. No one who wanted to construct a creed with twelve articles in three main divisions would be so clumsy as to divide it into 1 + 7 + 4, or rather 2 + 6 + 4." It is pretty safe to say that twelve divisions were not directly intended; but indirectly or incidentally, they were. In building the fabric of their Creed on the lines of the Trinitarian Formula laid down for them by the Master, the Apostles found it needful to use seven explicit words in telling all that was to be told about the Word of the second article, and four more to describe the Spirit of the third, His work, and His gifts to men. The result is that what was originally 1 + 1 + 1 became 1 + 7 + 4. Had they been guided solely by a sense of symmetry, like Harnack, the 1 + 1 + 1 would have issued in tetrads, thus: 4 + 4 + 4. As it is, the Apostolic Symbol, comprising twelve articles, which the German Rationalist, looking at it from an æsthetical point of view, finds so unsymmetrical, has ever edified and still edifies Faith. And Faith in its fulness has a symmetry of its own. The Author and Finisher of it, too, who is the Architect of this our earthly dwelling, uses Faith as enshrined in the Symbol to build Himself a stately mansion—"a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens". It is

[1] *Ep. ad Magnum* (Migne, tome 3, col. 1144). The words "carnis resurrectionem" are not in Cyprian's formula, which occurs in this epistle, and also, with the order of the phrases inverted, in *Ep.* 70 *ad Januarium.*

not symmetry of form but adaptability to a purpose that is sought in an instrument.

On page 15 we read: "The Greek text [of the Old Roman Creed] must be regarded as the original, for at Rome the Symbol was for a long time used only in Greek. It was not until long after the Greek text was in use that the Latin text was adopted as a parallel form." According to Harnack himself the Symbol was the Baptismal Creed of the Roman Church from the middle of the second century, when he supposes it was drawn up. Now, while large numbers of the converts in Rome even in the days of St Paul were Greeks, as appears from the last chapter of his *Epistle to the Romans;* and while Greek was largely used by the lettered among the Christians in the first centuries, as is shown by inscriptions found in the Roman Catacombs; the fact remains that the language of the Roman people was never any other than Latin[1], and that many, not to say the greater number, of the candidates for baptism were unlettered, and spoke no other tongue than the Latin. Therefore the Roman Church must have used the Symbol in Latin from the first. And the Latin form must have existed from the first side by side with the Greek form. Harnack, in this case, ignores the fact that the Symbol was not given from the first, nor transmitted, in writing. And he forgets that the catechetical and confessional use of the Symbol antedates the liturgical.

[1] Cf. *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae*, Auctoribus R. Cornely, S.J., et al. (Editio altera), Vol. I, p. 382.

III

Original Text of the Old Roman Creed.—Is it quite certain that even the Greek text of the Roman Symbol existed before the Latin? that the Roman Symbol, when first committed to writing, was written in Greek? It is not; it is a probable or plausible conjecture; perhaps not even that. The text of the Symbol of Marcellus of Ancyra, which Harnack points to in proof of his statement, cannot be accepted as proof, for two reasons. The first is that the original text of the Symbol of Marcellus has not come down to us. That which has come down is found in the pages of Epiphanius[1], who wrote in Greek, and of course would cite the Symbol in Greek. It is more than likely that Marcellus, had he written his Confession of Faith to Pope Julius from Ancyra, would have done so in Greek. But he wrote in Rome, after a stay in that city, as he tells us himself[2], of one year and three months—quite long enough to enable him to present his Confession of Faith in the language of the Latin Church, if he were so minded.

But there is another and more cogent reason why we cannot take the text of this Symbol of Marcellus, which would be the earliest known, as proof that the Greek text of the Roman Symbol was the original one. The Symbol of Marcellus is not the Roman Symbol at all. How is this shown? It is shown by the testimony of Marcellus himself, who declares distinctly in his Letter to Julius that he got his Symbol from his forefathers in the faith[3]; hence

[1] *Adv. Haer.*, lib. 3, Haer. 72 (Migne, P. G., tome 42).
[2] Migne, P. L., tome 8, col. 916. [3] *Ibid.*

not in Rome, nor in the West, but in Asia. And the Symbol itself witnesses to the truth of his testimony, for it ends with the words "ζωὴν αἰώνιον", which were not part of the Roman Symbol for many a long day after the time of Marcellus, but are found, in terms or equivalently, in the earliest Eastern Symbols. There still remains the text cited in the *Psalterium Athelstani*. But the MS. of the *Cod. Laudianus*, which embodies the Latin text, is earlier by well-nigh three centuries than that of the so-called Psalter of Æthelstan[1].

On page 80, Harnack says: "That the Roman Church after the sixth century gradually let itself be separated from and finally robbed of the symbol which it had previously guarded so faithfully, is a striking phenomenon which has not yet had its causes clearly explained". As a matter of fact, the Roman Church never for one day let itself be separated from its Symbol, and never was robbed of it. What, then, happened? This is what happened. From about the beginning of the sixth century and for a period of some two or three hundred years, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed took the place of the Old Roman in the *Traditio* and *Redditio Symboli*. This was owing to the spread of Arianism in the West. But the Roman Creed still remained in use in the baptismal interrogation, in the baptism of infants, as Burn shows at page 232 of the work already referred to, in the recitation of the Divine Office, and in private worship. When the shorter Symbol becomes once more the Baptismal Creed given to catechumens in the Roman Church, it is found to be no longer the Old Roman but the New Roman, or,

[1] Cf. Burn, *An Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 199.

as some prefer to regard it, the Gallican Symbol, which is identical with the Apostles' Creed of to-day.

IV

Measuring Creeds with a Tape Line.—If we are to measure Creeds with a tape line; if we are to distinguish one from another by the lesser or greater number of words they contain, Harnack is, to a certain extent, right. But if the true way to measure Creeds is by their meaning, by the articles of Faith which they embody, then Harnack is wrong. The twelve articles of the Rule of Faith need not be of exactly the same length, like the twelve inches that make up the carpenter's rule. Faith is not reckoned in feet and inches. The second article of the Nicene Creed contains almost as many words as the twelve articles of the Old Roman Creed[1]. But the Fathers of Nice could have said with truth that the second article as expounded by them was no longer than before. Exposition sets forth more clearly and defines more accurately the meaning of a statement, but does not alter it, nor add one iota to it. The best way to show how lack of perspective has led Harnack astray here is to place side by side the Old Roman Creed and the Apostles' Creed as we have it to-day. The additions to the former, which are in every case but an explicit setting forth of what was implicit, are put in italics.

Old Roman Creed	Apostles' Creed
(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty;	(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty, *Creator of heaven and earth;*
(2) And in Christ Jesus, His only Son, our Lord,	(2) And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord,

[1] The Creed contains 57 words, the article 54, by actual count.

Old Roman Creed	Apostles' Creed
(3) Born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,	(3) *Who was conceived* of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,
(4) Crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried ;	(4) *Suffered* under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, *died*, and *was* buried. *He descended into hell ;*
(5) Rose again the third day from the dead ;	(5) The third day He rose again from the dead ;
(6) Ascended into heaven ;	(6) Ascended into heaven ;
(7) Sitteth at the right hand of the Father,	(7) Sitteth at the right hand of *God* the Father *Almighty*,
(8) whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead.	(8) whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead.
(9) And in the Holy Ghost,	(9) *I believe* in the Holy Ghost,
(10) the holy Church,	(10) the holy *Catholic* Church, *the communion of saints*,
(11) the remission of sins,	(11) the remission of sins,
(12) the resurrection of the flesh.	(12) the resurrection of the body, *and the life everlasting.*

It may be remarked, in passing, that this division of the Creed into articles, being that of the Old Roman Creed, should be regarded as the true one, although it is not the one generally given by theologians. The words added to the first article are clearly implied in " Almighty " ; " born " of the third article implies " conceived " ; " crucified " of the fourth, " suffered " and " died " ; " buried ", the descent into " hell ", seeing that the soul as well as the body is to be assigned its locus. " God Almighty " of the seventh article serves but to identify the Father at whose right hand Christ sitteth, with the " Father " of the first article. Expounding the tenth article, which affirmed " the holy Church " merely in the African Creed of his day, St. Augustine adds, " Catholic, of course[1] ". And elsewhere, in his exposition of this

[1] *De Fide et Symbolo*, c. 10 (Migne, tome 40, col. 195).

same article, he declares that "Church" is to be understood here, "not only of that which holds its pilgrim way on earth", but also of "that which in heaven ever cleaves to God[1]". The words "communion of saints" have thus been inserted to indicate that the "Church" signifies the Kingdom of God in its widest sense. Finally, the adjunct "life everlasting" defines the true meaning of "the resurrection", which is not a resurrection unto a mortal life, but a resurrection unto a life without end.

All this is very plain and simple to one who sees with the eyes of Faith. But Harnack's eyes were holden; he could not see it. And so, having no rule but the tape line to measure Creeds withal, he has committed himself to the unhistorical statement that the Roman Church actually allowed herself to be robbed of her ancient Symbol. He marvels much how she could have done so, and seeks a solution of what is to him a puzzling problem.

There is one statement more in a footnote at page 11, which must not go unchallenged. In reference to the legend that each of the twelve Apostles contributed an article to the Creed, he observes: "The Roman Catechism has nevertheless retained it". The Roman Catechism has done nothing of the kind. The compilers give as an alternative explanation of the name Symbol, having been bestowed, as they take it, by the Apostles, that it was composed (conflata) of the combined sentiments of all (ex variis sententiis quas singuli in unum contulerunt), the other explanation being that it was to be a "tessera" or badge of the Christian Faith. Rufinus uses words which convey the same meaning

[1] *Enchiridion*, c. 56 (*ibid.*, col. 258).

as those of the Catechism in relating, not simply how the Symbol came by its name, but how it was composed by the Twelve—" in unum conferendo quod sentiebant unusquisque ". In fact, the compilers of the Catechism are but citing once more the ancient tradition given by Rufinus as to the origin of the Symbol. And they do not commit themselves so definitely as he does to the statement that each of the twelve Apostles had a hand in the composition of it. They simply say that the Apostles " drew out distinctly the most imortant points of the Christian Faith in the twelve articles of the Creed ". And yet Harnack himself, on page 18, tells us that Rufinus " knows nothing about " the legend ; " all that he knows was the common composition of the Roman symbol by the Apostles soon after Pentecost and before the separation ".

V

Harnack's Theory on the Origin of the Creed.—It is now time to say a word about Harnack's own theory of the origin of the Symbol, and to deal with his attempt to prove that the Rule of Truth cited by Irenæus was neither a Baptismal Creed nor identical with Tertullian's Rule of Faith. Briefly, his theory is that the Old Roman Symbol was composed in Rome about the middle of the second century, and that it was not till the early part of the fourth century, when the Churches of the East, as he supposes, first came to know and value the Roman Symbol, that the formation of symbols began in the East. Before that time, the East, he maintains, had indeed an " old, flexible, christological rule ",

also " ceremonial or polemical formulas of belief in One God the Creator, and His Only Son Christ ", but no " established baptismal confession of faith[1] ". Now, this theory is simply pulverized by the testimony of Irenæus, if it be but fairly interpreted. Hence Harnack's attempt, by all the plausible arts of which he is master, to turn the edge of this testimony and save his theory from destruction. How does he set about doing this ? He starts with the assumption that no fixed baptismal Confession of Faith existed in the East in the time of Irenæus. This he bases on the fact that none but fragmentary formulas, of a flexible character, are to be found in the early Christian writings of the East. Against this we set the words of Irenæus that " the real Church hath one and the same Faith throughout the world[2] ", and that, while the languages of the world differ, " the tenor of the Tradition is one and the same[3] ", Where Faith is one and Baptism one there is but one Baptismal Creed. Why, then, those varied and fragmentary creeds ? " For this reason ", says the Anglican Blunt, " the creeds never occur in an unbroken form in the first centuries. They were committed to memory by the faithful, but never to writing, that heresy might not learn to simulate the faith[4] ". It would seem that the *Disciplina Arcani* still withholds its secrets from Harnack. Nor does he appear to realize that one and the same formulary may serve now a catechetical or confessional purpose, now a liturgical ; be used at one time as a token of membership and communion, at another as a test of orthodoxy. It is this last use of the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 48. [2] *Adv. Haer.*, Bk 1, c. 10, n. 3. [3] *Ibid.*, n. 2.
[4] Blunt's *Theological Dictionary*, edited by the Rev. John Henry Blunt. Art. " Creeds ". As to the reason here assigned, see *Introduction*, pp. 17-23.

Symbol of the true Faith that is brought prominently into view in the East during the second, third, and fourth centuries. As new forms of heresy arose, new adaptations of the one and unchangeable Creed of the Church were devised to meet them, and we find St Hilary bitterly bewailing this multiplication of "faiths" in his day.

VI

Irenæus Misconstrued.—The famous German scholar and critic constructs a "confessional formula" out of fragments gathered from four or five different sources; and, as he was "enabled to make a similar conjecture in Justin's case, so it is probable that not only in Irenæus' time but also in Justin's" the formula so constructed "existed in the East". This formula, fashioned, be it remembered, though out of pre-existing material, by Harnack himself, "Irenæus made the foundation of his κάνων τῆς ἀληθείας", or Rule of Truth. But it is probable that Irenæus had to incorporate in his Canon, before it reached its final completion, an "historico-christological formula of confession containing the sentences about the birth, suffering under Pontius Pilate", etc., because this latter formula "is perhaps, or even probably, to be distinguished" from the one that was made the foundation of the Rule of Truth[1].

This bit of scientific guesswork is interesting, if not very instructive. But what does Harnack take Irenæus for? Does he take him for a fool that he should make him try to refute the heresies of his day by the help of so crazy a piece of furniture as this

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 63-4.

patched up formulary ? And where is there room for conjecture when Irenæus himself still lives in his works, and is able to speak for himself ? It is so far from being true that there is anything in the writings of Irenæus to show " that he is compiling " his Canon " independently out of a large number of fixed confessional formulas of the Church[1]", that the very reverse is the case. Irenæus never cites this Rule of Truth, never appeals to this Rule of Truth but as to a something objective, a something quite independent both of himself and of those he is addressing, a something that existed in the Church throughout the world from the first, a something that was always and everywhere the same, a something, in fine, that had the authority of Apostolic institution. He declares that the Rule of Truth is bestowed " by Baptism " on every Christian, for Baptism alone gives a right to the Symbol. The description that he gives of it tallies with that which Tertullian gives of the Rule of Faith which the African Church followed. He tells us that the Churches throughout all the world followed this same Rule of Truth[2], and Tertullian in Africa tells us the same thing. He distinguishes it from " the preaching of the Apostles, and the teaching of the Lord ", as " that which is put into our mouths by the Apostles[3]". He testifies that Polycarp " received from the Apostles that one and only truth, which hath been handed on by the Church ", and that this " Tradition which " the Apostles " delivered to those whom they entrusted with the Churches " is the " Rule " to which " consent many nations of the barbarians ", who receive it " without letters ", and who, " if one should tell them

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Adv. Haer.*, Bk 1, c. 10, n. 1. [3] *Ibid.*, Bk 2, c. 35, n. 4.

of the inventions of the heretics ", would " by that old Tradition Apostolic . . . admit not even to a passing glance of the mind any of their monstrous sayings[1]". Lastly, he appeals to the " Tradition " of the Roman Church, " which it hath from the Apostles ", " which Tradition proclaims One God Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth[2]".

If this Rule of Truth, the same in all Churches, was bestowed by Baptism, what becomes of Harnack's assumption that there was no " established baptismal confession of faith " in the East during the second and third centuries ? Irenæus himself lived in the East, came from the East, and ought to know better. As for the word " canon ", if it does not mean an " established " rule, one would like to know what it does mean. Again, if the " Rule " of Irenæus was an " Old Tradition Apostolic ", could it have been also drawn up by himself ? Finally, if this Rule existed in Rome, too, and in Africa, what else could it be but the Symbol of the Roman Church and Tertullian's Rule of Faith ?

VII

Tertullian not Duly Weighed.—Let us leave Gaul and cross into Africa. Harnack tells us that he has " traced the old Roman symbol to the time of Tertullian[3]". We shall help him to trace it a good bit farther. And Tertullian is the very man who will enable us to do so. Where did Tertullian get his Rule of Faith ? That sturdy champion of Christianity does not leave us one instant in doubt as to where he got it. He got it from the Church, the Church

[1] *Ibid.*, Bk 3, c. 4, n. 2. [2] *Ibid.*, c. 3, n. 3. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

got it from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God[1]. At any rate this is what he tells us; and we seem to catch a hint of what is passing in his mind from those words in Matthew where our Lord tells His Apostles that "all power is given" Him "in heaven and on earth", and where, in virtue of that power, He bids them go forth to teach and baptize all nations. We understand Tertullian to mean that the Apostles got the Rule of Faith from Christ, in the sense that they got from Christ the Faith itself and the authority to formulate such points of it as they deemed needful to grave "on the fleshly tablets" of the hearts of those who were first to "believe" before they could be "baptized". If one thing more than another is clear from the writings of Tertullian, it is that there did not dwell in his mind the shadow of a doubt that the Apostles themselves drew up the Rule of Faith. He regards it as "incredible" that they should not "have set forth to all every clause of the Rule in order (omnem ordinem regulae)[2]". He points out how impossible it would be for "so many and so great Churches to stray into the one Faith", and that what is "one among many comes not by hap, but by tradition[3]". He declares that "this Rule was in use from the beginning of the Gospel, even before the earliest heresies[4]".

VIII

"**Contesserarit.**"—But Harnack's own words may serve to show how Tertullian witnesses to the Apostolic authorship of the Symbol. He tells us (p. 70) that

[1] *De Praescript.*, c. 37 (Migne, tome 2, col. 50). [2] *Ibid.*, c. 27.
[3] *Ibid.*, c. 28. [4] *Adv. Prax.*, c. 2.

it " is this [the Roman] symbol he [Tertullian] means when he writes *de praescr. haer.* 36 " ; and cites in part the following passage :

" But if thou art near Italy, thou hast Rome, whence we also have an authority at hand. That Church how happy, into which the Apostles poured all their doctrine with their blood ; where Peter has a like passion with the Lord ; where Paul is crowned with an end like the Baptist's ; whence the Apostle John, after he is plunged into boiling oil, and has suffered nothing, is banished to an island. Let us see what she learned, what she taught, when she gave the Symbol also to the Churches of Africa. She confesses one God, the Creator of the universe, and Christ Jesus, the Son of God the Creator, born of the Virgin Mary, and the resurrection of the flesh".

It is of these last words that Harnack says: " This is the symbol that he means ". Just so. But Tertullian testifies that the Church of Rome got this Symbol from the Apostles, and gave it to the Churches of Africa, *i.e.*, of pro-consular Africa and the parts adjacent. This is " what she learned[1] " from Peter and Paul, her first teachers in the Faith, and this is " what she taught, when she admitted the Africans also into fellowship in that Faith by delivering to them its Symbol[2] ". Tertullian answers his own question, and he answers it by citing the " tessera " or Symbol of the Faith. The words of the text are, " cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesserarit ". This " contesserarit ", a word coined by Tertullian himself, wherein to hide his Symbol, seems to have puzzled editors and translators alike. Some of the editors have changed it into " contestatur ", which

[1] It is not " quae " but " quid," not " what things " but " what thing ".

[2] Nothing short of a paraphrase can bring out the full meaning of " *contesserarit* ".

is never found with a dative, which as a present tense would not follow an aorist, and which gives no meaning; others into "contesseratur", which is from the right verb, but not in the right mood nor tense. The translator of this passage, in *The Faith of Catholics*, renders it: "Let us see what she hath learned, what taught, what fellowship she hath had with the Churches of Africa likewise." But "didicerit" and "docuerit" are aorists, not present perfect tenses, for it was from the Apostles the Roman Church "learned" that Faith which she afterwards "taught" the Churches of Africa. And "cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesserarit" does not yield the meaning "what fellowship, etc.", but rather "when she gave the symbol of fellowship in the Faith to the African Churches[1]". Her Apostolic Symbol was the germ whence the virgin Mother Church of Rome begot her virgin daughters in Africa also. And, to vary the metaphor with the varying use of the Symbol, this was the signet ring she put upon their fingers on the day she clothed them in the white robes of their Baptism—the seal and sure token of their birthright in God, their espousals in Christ, and their fellowship in the one Faith. The word "tessera", from which Tertullian boldly coined the

[1] It would seem that the translator based his rendering on the reading of this passage given by Burn at page 49 of his work. "Videamus, quid didicerit, quid docuerit, quid cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis *contesserauit*". There should be no comma after "Videamus"; "quid" is the interrogative, and introduces a dependent question. The verb should therefore be in the subjunctive. There is a parallelism of construction in the "quid" clauses, and a dependent question never has its verb in the indicative. The "cum" of this reading is a preposition; the "cum" of Migne's text, a conjunctive adverb; but between the two readings there is no essential difference of meaning. Whether "Africanis ecclesiis", in Migne's, is a dative or an ablative we can only conjecture. The privilege of coining a new verb must carry with it the privilege of saying what case it shall govern —*saeviant quantumvis grammatici*. (The word *contesserauit* given above is so printed in Burn's book. The *u* of the last syllable is old Latin spelling for *v*.)

verb "contesserare" (not the first nor yet the last sample of his work in this line), means "symbol", and we all know that the symbol of fellowship among the early Christians was no other than the Apostolic Symbol. A few chapters back, in the same work, Tertullian uses the expression, "contesseratio hospitalitatis" to signify how the Symbol of their common Faith served the early Christians as a token whereby they could recognize and, recognizing, give the right hand of fellowship and hospitality to their brethren. The Symbol was their test of Church membership, by means of which, as the Anglican Blunt well expresses it in the work already cited, "in the first troubled years of the Church, Christians proceeding from one point of the world to another were at once known and received into unreserved communion as brethren in one common Lord." We may conjecture that when our Blessed Lord likens the Kingdom of Heaven to a woman who takes a little leaven and hides it in three measures of meal, till the whole mass is leavened (*Matt.* 13 : 33 ; *Luke* 13 : 21), He has the Symbol in His mind's eye. The woman is the Church, and the leaven is the Symbol which she takes and hides away for a space in the multitude of all nations and tribes and tongues, till the whole mass is leavened—till the power of paganism is broken, and the peoples of the earth gather, in the open day, around the standard of the Cross. The Gospel was to be preached from the housetops from the very first. But the Symbol, which was not given openly to men, nor "written with ink on paper, but graved on the fleshly tablets of the heart", was, like the leaven in the meal, secretly doing its work in all the world.

So far as we have been able to see, the only one of the Fathers who notes and lays stress on the use of "hid" in the parable of the leaven is St Clement of Alexandria, who lived at a time and in a place where the Discipline of the Secret seems to have been observed with more than ordinary strictness. "Now even also by means of the parable of the leaven", he observes, "does our Lord signify the concealment (τὴν ἐπίκρυψιν), for He says, "*The kingdom of heaven is like to leaven, which a woman took and hid in three bushels of meal, until the whole was leavened.*"—*Strom.*, 1. 5, n. 12.

CHAPTER IV

ST AUGUSTINE AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SYMBOL

I

St Augustine and the Ancient Tradition.—It is urged that St Augustine contradicts the ancient tradition of the Apostolic authorship of the Symbol[1]. The passage to which appeal is made occurs in a homily on the Symbol, and runs as follows: "The words you have heard are scattered here and there in the Sacred Scriptures, but have thence been gathered and put into one formula[2]". Now, the tradition has it that the Apostles composed the Symbol on the eve of their dispersion, which took place before the books of the New Testament were written. Hence the passage in question runs counter to the tradition.

One way of meeting this difficulty, undoubtedly a grave difficulty because of the great authority of St Augustine, would be to make the Saint mean by Sacred Scriptures the Old Testament only. But this would be rather an evading of the difficulty, for the expression "Sacred Scriptures" includes the New Testament as well as the Old. It is more than doubtful, too, whether all the words of the Symbol are to be found in the Old Testament. The words "under Pontius Pilate", at any rate, are not.

[1] *Dogma, Gerarchia e Culto*, p. 322.

[2] Verba quae audistis per divinas Scripturas sparsa sunt, sed inde collecta et ad unum redacta.—*De Symb. ad Catech.*, Migne, tome 40, col. 627.

First of all, let us see what St Augustine says in his other sermons on the Symbol. Two of those given in the fifth volume of Migne's edition of the Saint's works, namely, 212 and 214, are unquestionably genuine. In both of these it is not the words of the Symbol but the doctrine which St Augustine says is contained in the Scriptures. Nor does he say or in any way imply that the doctrine was taken from the Scriptures in the first instance. "All that you are about to hear in the Symbol", he tells his catechumens, "is contained in the Scriptures". And again: "This, then, is the Symbol, with the contents of which you have been made familiar already through the Scriptures and the preaching of the Church[1]". He opens his mind even more fully in the other sermon[2]. "The truths", he there tells his hearers, "which you are about to receive in a compendious form, to be committed to memory and orally professed, are not new to you nor unheard. For in the Sacred Scriptures and in sermons you have been wont to find them set forth in many ways". St Augustine plainly does not mean here that the authors of the Symbol picked the words which compose it from various parts of the Scriptures—an utterly unlikely thing, in any case. Nor does he even mean that they actually took the truths embodied in it from the Scripture, where, of course, they are to be found, with many other truths besides. He simply means that catechumens could learn and did learn from the Scripture, as well as from the preaching of the Church, all the truths contained in the Symbol, long before the Symbol itself was given to them.

[1] Serm. 212 (Migne, tome 38, col. 1058).
[2] Serm. 214 *ad init.* (*ibid.*, col. 1066).

II

The Homily de Symbolo ad Catechumenos.—It will still be urged that, in the homily which is entitled *de Symbolo ad Catechumenos*, it is declared in set terms, as cited above, that the very words of the Symbol were taken from the Scriptures. Granted; but it is only so much worse for the homily that it should affirm a thing so improbable. That homily has too long masqueraded under the great name of Augustine. The proofs of its spuriousness that I am able to put my finger on seem to me at least overwhelming.

To begin with, the homily in question is tainted in its source. It was found from the first in bad company, so to say. It is one of four which, in codices dating from A.D. 800, are styled *De Symbolo Libri Quatuor*, and attributed to Augustine[1]. Three of these are to-day rejected as spurious on all hands. The fourth is, from the nature of the case, suspect. Possidius knew only of three such discourses on the Symbol by St Augustine, which he cites as "De Symbolo, tractatus tres[2]". Two of these are readily identified as the sermons numbered respectively 212 and 214, already cited. The third, whether it exists among the writings of St Augustine that have come down to us or not, is not any of the four *ad Catechumenos*. It remains to show this of the only one of them which is generally admitted as genuine[3],

[1] Migne, *loc. cit.* [2] Cf. Migne's Index to the works of St Augustine, col. 20.
[3] Pearson, however, in his volume of critical notes on the Creed, gives the reference simply as "auctor homiliae de Symbolo ad Catechumenos". And now it is a great satisfaction to me to find that Kattenbusch in his monumental work on the Creed (Vol. II, pp. 992-3) rejects this sermon as spurious. "It does not", he says, "breathe the spirit of Augustine"

that one, namely, which comes first in order in Migne's collection.

It has been pointed out that the author of this homily cites "in vitam aeternam" as part of the Creed, which St Augustine never does in any of the writings that are certainly his. Nor did these words form part of the Creed known to the contemporaries of Augustine in the West, Rufinus, St Jerome, and St Ambrose, if the last-named be indeed the author of the *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos*. The author of the homily seems to have borrowed the idea, if not the very words, from Sermon 40 of St John Chrysostom[1], where we read: "And as the word 'resurrection' is not enough to convey the whole truth (for many who rose again died again, as did those who rose again under the old dispensation, Lazarus, and those who rose when Christ died), we are taught to say, *And in the life everlasting.*"

On page 213 of his work, Burn says: "The addition *vitam aeternam* had been in use in the African Church since the third century." He means that it had been in use as part of the Symbol, and in this he is astray. The African Church got its Symbol from the Roman and kept it unchanged till after St Augustine's time. How can it be maintained that St Augustine, expounding the Symbol to Africans in the African Church, deliberately left out so notable a part as this would be of the Faith in which they had been baptized? Immediately after his comment on the "resurrection of the flesh", in *De Fide et Symbolo*, he says: "This is the Faith which is summed up in a few words in the Symbol, and given to neophytes to be kept by them". *De Fide et Symbolo*, as the

[1] Migne, tome 61.

Saint himself tells us (*Retract.* xvii) was originally a discourse given at a Plenary Council of the African Church, and afterwards put in writing. The theory that Augustine knew of two Symbols, one learned from Ambrose at Milan when he was baptized, another which he found in possession of the African Church, breaks down completely in face of the fact that it is the Symbol of Milan and of Rome that he expounds to the African Bishops in synod assembled and gives to his African neophytes. The only prop the critics have for this theory (doubtful or spurious sermons are worse than valueless, being themselves without a prop or in need of one) is too frail to support it. They find the *vitam aeternam* in the baptismal interrogatory, as cited by Cyprian. But Cyprian got his Symbol from Tertullian, and *vitam aeternam* is no part of Tertullian's Symbol, which is the Old Roman pure and simple. The presence of *vitam aeternam* in Cyprian's formula does but show that what is obviously implied in "carnis resurrectionem" of the Symbol was from a very early time expressed in the interrogatory.

III

Further Proofs of its Spuriousness.—There is yet more cogent proof that the homily *de Symb. ad Catech.* is spurious. In the Old Roman Creed, the fourth article runs: "Crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried". So we find it cited, not only by St Augustine, but in the works of contemporary and even later writers of the same century, such as St Maximus of Turin[1], and St Peter Chrysologus[2]. Nay, a full hun-

[1] *De Trad. Symb.*, Homil. 83 (Migne, tome 57, col. 434).
[2] *In Symb. Apost.*, Sermon 57 (Migne, tome 52, col. 359).

dred years after the time of St Augustine, and in the Church of Africa, St Fulgentius knows of no change in the fourth article, but gives it as it stood in St Augustine's day[1]. On the other hand, the author of the homily *de Symb. ad Catech.* cites the fourth article just as we have it to-day—" Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried." The inference is that he either was not of the African Church at all, or, if he was, that the homily was not composed till more than a hundred years after the death of St Augustine. It may seem a trifling thing to add that the form of address employed by the author of the homily is never once used in a single one of the three hundred and sixty-three sermons to be found among the genuine writings of St Augustine, nor in any one of the thirty and three more recently discovered and published as his in an appendix to the volume which contains the index to his works in Migne's collection[2]. With St Augustine it is " brethren ", " dearly beloved brethren ", " dearly beloved ", " your charity ", " your holiness ". Once he has, " sons of light, brothers dearly beloved ", and once in the course of a sermon *ad infantes*, as the neophytes were called, we find " my brothers, my sons, my daughters, my sisters ", but this is not a form of address. The author of the homily, on the other hand, uses " sons " simply.

Nor are there wanting other tokens of the spurious character of this homily. The author borrows freely from St Augustine, copies his style pretty closely, essays to think his thoughts, but these are sometimes beyond him. It is here especially that he betrays

[1] *Defens. Symb. contra Arianos* (Migne, tome 65, col. 825).
[2] Of course, one naturally looks for it in the opening paragraph.

the 'prentice hand. He lacks Augustine's mastery of his subject, his mental grasp, his logical exactness, his sense of proportion. To give one instance of the man's deficiency in this last particular, there is in this homily on the Symbol more than a column and a half of a digression on the patience of Job. Speaking of God's omnipotence, he says: "Facit quidquid bene vult, quidquid juste vult; quidquid autem male fit, non vult." Now, this is not exact. It should be: "Facit quidquid vult, et quidquid vult, bene vult, juste vult." The second part of the statement, too, needs to be supplemented by some such words as, "eo tamen bene uti novit". "For [St Augustine himself it is who says it] as the wicked make an evil use of a nature which is good, that is, God's good work, God, being good, makes a good use even of their evil doings, so that His Almighty Will is not frustrated in aught[1]". Again the author of the homily says: "Deus non dimittit peccata nisi baptizatis". This is worse than inexact; it is untrue, and in open contradiction to the teaching of St Augustine, where he says that not only martyrdom may supply the place of baptism, but also "faith and sincere repentance, if haply time be wanting to administer the sacrament[2]". Even had he said "Ecclesia" instead of "Deus", his statement would have been true only of what the Church does in the tribunal of penance. An unbaptized person in good faith, who should have only attrition for his sins, would obtain the forgiveness of them by receiving Holy Communion from the hands of the Church.

[1] Serm. 214.
[2] *De Bapt. contra Donat.*, lib. 4, c. 22 (Migne, tome 43, col. 173.)

IV

A Paradox and its Elucidation.—It is in his treatment of the Divine Omnipotence and its relation to things impossible, that the deficiency of the author of this homily is most marked. In what purports to be an instruction to persons who were novices in the deep things of the Faith, he sets out, the very first thing, with a paradox. " God is almighty ", he says, " and because He is almighty, He cannot die, He cannot be deceived, He cannot lie ". This is bad enough, bewildering as it must have been to the catechumen. The reason assigned is worse: it is trivial, not to say childish. " For ", he proceeds to enlighten his hearers, " if He could die, He would not be almighty; if He could lie, or deceive, or be deceived, or deal unjustly, He would not be almighty; because if He could do any of these things, He would not be worthy of being almighty ". As if the attribute of omnipotence were a gift bestowed upon deserving Deity! Contrast with this imbecility the masterful way in which St Augustine grapples with the difficult point in Sermon 214 on the Symbol. He does not begin with a paradox, but feels his way cautiously along. He points out first that belief in the omnipotence of God implies belief also in there being absolutely nothing in nature which He did not create. After developing this point fully, he goes on, in the next paragraph, to show that, while the wicked do many things against God's will, this does not derogate from His omnipotence, nor defeat His purpose in the long run. If He were not able to make the wicked serve His good and just ends, He would not have

suffered them to be born or to live; "whom He did not make wicked, since He made them men; for, not the sins, which are against nature, but the natures themselves He made. Prescient of the future, He could not, indeed, but know that men were going to be wicked. As He knew, however, the evil they were going to do, so He knew the good that He was going to bring out of this evil". He instances the good that God wrought for mankind out of the malice of Satan, of the Jews, and of the traitor Judas. Next comes a paragraph in elucidation of the paradox referred to above, which is well worth giving word for word:

"But, as I have said that the only thing the Almighty cannot do is what He does not will to do, if any one should be tempted to think me rash in saying that there is anything the Almighty cannot do, let him call to mind that the blessed Apostle says so also. *If we believe not, He who continueth faithful cannot deny Himself* (2 *Tim.* 2 : 13). But it is because He will not that He cannot; because He even cannot will. For justice cannot will to do what is unjust, nor wisdom will to do what is foolish, nor truth will what is false. From this we gather that there are many other things, besides this that the Apostle speaks of, *He cannot deny Himself*, which the Almighty cannot do. I say it openly, and I am emboldened by His truth to say that which I dare not gainsay: God Almighty cannot die, cannot change, cannot be deceived, cannot but be blessed, cannot be overcome. Perish the thought that these and the like things could be predicated of Omnipotence! And so the force of truth constrains us to believe, not only that God is Almighty, because these things are not true of Him, but that He would not at all be almighty if they were. For, whatever God is He is as willing to be. He is eternal, therefore, as willing it; unchange-

able, veracious, blessed, and unconquerable, as having a will to be so. If, then, He could be what He does not will to be, He would not be almighty; but He is almighty; therefore, what He wills to be He can be. And therefore what He wills not, cannot be, being called, as He is, the Almighty, because He can do all that He wills. Of him the Psalmist says: *All things whatsoever He willeth He hath done in heaven and on earth* (*Ps.* 134 : 6).

This is somewhat subtle reasoning. We shall be able to follow it more easily if we do but keep clearly in view what the Saint is aiming to show. He assumes as being of faith that God is omnipotent, eternal, veracious, and the rest. He shows, in the first place, that what God cannot do is such that He does not and cannot will to do it; for God is justice, and justice cannot will to do what is unjust; God is truth, and truth cannot will what is false. He sets Himself to show, in the second place, that so far is God's not being able to do what He does not will to do from being derogatory to His omnipotence, that if it were possible for anything to be without His willing it, He would not be omnipotent at all. He points out that God's will is really one with His other attributes, and with His essence. As His will, then, is one with His eternity, with His unchangeableness, with His truth, He must needs will to be eternal, to be unchangeable, to be veracious. Now, the very idea of omnipotence includes the power to be and do whatever one wills. But, as God must needs will to be eternal, He cannot will to die; and as He must needs will to be veracious, He cannot will to deceive or to lie. If He could die, then, or deceive, He would not have the power of being and doing whatever He willed, and would not, therefore, be omnipotent. But

He is omnipotent; therefore, whatsoever He willeth that He is and that He doeth in heaven and on earth.

All this may look like a digression from the main topic; but really it is not. The objection founded on the passage in the homily now shown to be spurious, lay right across the path of the tradition which traces back to the Apostles the origin of the Symbol. The only effective means of getting it out of the way was to blast the homily. And it is something to have cleared the way. It is something to have got from a great authority, who is represented as unfriendly, free leave to follow our quest up to the very gates of Jerusalem and into the full light of the Apostolic Day.

V

The Fallacy of Silence.—It may still be said that, at any rate, St Augustine does not help us in our quest. His silence, too, is taken to indicate that he knows nothing of the tradition of the Apostolic authorship of the Symbol. It is never too safe to argue from the silence of an author. Two of the contemporaries of Augustine, themselves voluminous writers, just happen to mention the tradition once. But their passing allusion to it ranks them among our most important witnesses to its existence. Is it likely that the disciple of St Ambrose and the friend of St Jerome could have been in ignorance of a tradition so notable, the existence of which is vouched for in his day by both of them? About a century after St Augustine's time, and in the African Church, we find St Fulgentius testifying that "the Symbol of the Christian Faith was . . . drawn up by the Apostles

in accordance with the rule of the Truth[1]". This famous Bishop of Ruspe lived so near the times of St Augustine, and made so close a study of his works, that he may well be styled his disciple. Again we ask, Is it likely the master was ignorant of the tradition?

There is another reason why it is unsafe to argue from silence, especially in the case of so voluminous a writer as St Augustine. It is that one can hardly ever be quite sure of the truth of one's premise. Who can say that he has read all the works of St Augustine through, and noted what he says or has left unsaid? Besides, there are two ways in which a writer may witness to a fact; explicitly, and by implication. Now, St Augustine certainly does witness at least in the latter of these two ways to the traditional teaching of the Church about the origin of the Symbol. In his controversy with the Donatists, defending the validity of baptism conferred by heretics, he says: "This custom I believe as coming down by tradition from the Apostles. So, there are many things not found in their writings, nor in the canons of Councils of a later date, which, because they are observed by the universal Church, are believed to have derived their origin and received their sanction from no other than the Apostles[2]". Again: "A custom which the men even of that day, looking farther back, did not find to have been established by those who went before them, is rightly believed to have originated with the Apostles[3]". And once more, in the form of a general proposition: "That which is observed by the whole Church, and has not been instituted by

[1] *In Defens. Symb. adv. Arianos* (Migne, tome 65, col. 822).
[2] *De Bapt. contra Donat.*, tome 9, lib. 2, c. 7, n. 12 (Migne, tome 43, col. 133).
[3] *Ibid.*, lib. 4, c. 6, n. 9 (*ibid.*, col. 159).

Councils, but has been always held fast, we have every reason to regard as the tradition of the Apostles[1]". Now the whole Church held the Baptismal Creed known as the Apostolic Symbol in St Augustine's day ; it was not instituted by Councils, but had been always held fast ; therefore, according to the Saint, we have the very best reason to regard it as having been handed down by tradition from the Apostles.

VI

An Important Testimony.—St Augustine's belief in the Apostolic origin of the Symbol is logically implied in the principle he lays down with regard to Apostolic tradition. But we have in the following passage, or I am greatly mistaken, if not an explicit statement of his belief, at least the very next thing to it. He is combating the view that baptism may be given offhand to anyone who makes a profession of faith in the Divine Sonship of Christ, such as the eunuch baptized by Philip made (*Acts* 8 : 35-38). I translate with almost literal exactness from the text in Migne :

" That eunuch, they tell us, whom Philip baptized, said no more than, ' I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God ' ; and, on making this profession, forthwith received baptism. Are we, then, willing that men, on giving this response only, should incontinently be baptized ? that not one word should be said by the catechist, nothing professed by the believer, about the Holy Ghost, the holy Church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the dead, in fine, about the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, except that He is the Son of God ;—not a word about His incarnation in the Virgin's womb, the passion, the death on the cross, the burial, the resurrection on the third day, the

[1] *Ibid.*, c. 24 (*ibid.*, col. 174).

ascension, and the session on the right hand of the Father? For, if the eunuch, when he had made answer, 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God', thought this was all that was needed, and that he could at once be baptized, and go his way, why do we not take pattern by his case, and dispense with the other things that we deem necessary to bring out by questioning and get an answer to from the candidate for baptism, even when time presses and it is not possible for him to learn them by heart? But if the Scripture is silent, and leaves these other things which Philip did when baptizing the eunuch to be taken for granted, and in saying, *Philip baptized him* (*Acts* 8 : 35-38), gives us to undertsand that everything was done which had to be done, as we know from the tradition that has come down from one generation to another, although Scripture, for the sake of brevity, does not mention it; in like manner, when we find it written that Philip *preached* unto him the Lord Jesus, we cannot at all doubt that in the catechism those things were dealt with which bear upon the life and conduct of him who believes in the Lord Jesus. For, to preach Christ is not only to teach what must be believed concerning Christ, but also what he has to observe who becomes a member of Christ's body; nay, in sooth, to teach all that is to be believed of Christ, not merely whose Son He is; to set forth whence He is as to His Divinity, of whom born according to the flesh, what things He suffered and why, what the virtue of His resurrection is, what gift the Spirit has promised and given to the faithful . . .[1]".

Historical criticism assumes that the primitive Baptismal Creed of the Church was the simple profession of faith in Christ recorded in the eighth chapter of the Acts[2]. St Augustine, so far from holding this

[1] *De Fide et Operibus*, c. 9, cols. 205-6 (Migne, tome 40).

[2] *Dogma, Gerarchia e Culto*, p. 326. Burn, *An Introduction to the Creeds*, pp. 32, 43.

view, maintains that even in the case of the Ethiopian eunuch, which might well seem an exceptional case, Philip carried out the baptismal service in substantially the same way as it used to be carried out in the fourth and fifth centuries, and as it continues to be carried out down to this day. The Scripture, he grants, does not say so in terms, but leaves it to be inferred; and "we know" that it was done. How did they know? By Apostolic tradition—"serie traditionis", an unbroken chain of oral communication whose first links were forged in the workshop of the Apostles. And what was the very first thing to be done, according to the Apostolic tradition? St Augustine does not leave us to conjecture. He is clear that the very first thing to be done was to instruct in the Faith the person to be baptized, to deliver the Creed to the catechumen. But what Creed, according to St Augustine, was delivered to the catechumen, the "eunuch of great authority under Queen Candace", whom Philip instructed in the Faith? Was it a formula that contained only the second article of the Symbol known to Augustine? Nothing of the kind. It was the whole Creed, the whole Symbol—"yea, to say all that is to be believed of Christ". Tradition said nothing of what passed between Philip and the eunuch. But the Apostolic origin of the Symbol was known "by unbroken tradition", and from this the inference was an easy one that the eunuch was taught all the truths contained in the Symbol.

To St Augustine as to Tertullian the Creed is the Rule of Faith. Such indeed it has been to Catholics always and everywhere. In one of his sermons he says: "How do we confess, in the Rule of Faith,

that we believe in the Son of God who was born of the Virgin Mary, if it was not the Son of God but the son of man that was born of her[1]"?

In the *Harmony of the Evangelists* he tells us that those who first undertook to write about the acts of Our Lord and the Apostles foisted into their writings things that "the Catholic and Apostolic Rule of Faith, as well as sound doctrine, condemns[2]". The Saint calls the Rule of Faith, *i.e.*, the Creed, "Catholic", because it is always and everywhere the same, and "Apostolic", because it came down from the Apostles. We claim, therefore, the great Bishop of Hippo as another witness to the tradition of the Apostolic authorship of the Creed.

VII

The Gospel in a Nutshell.—The Master had charged His Apostles, when He sent them out into all the world, to give baptism only to believers: *He who believes and is baptized shall be saved.* Believes what? The Gospel, of course. The whole Gospel? Yes. *In extenso*, as we have it in the New Testament writings and in Tradition? The thing was not to be thought of. How, then, the whole Gospel? In a compendious form, in a nutshell—in the Symbol, in short, universally known in the East during the second, third, and fourth centuries as "the Faith", because it was the sum of what candidates for baptism were required to believe and make profession of. Can we conceive the Apostles to have been so neglectful of their plain duty as not to have drawn up this Formula of Faith when the Master had charged

[1] Migne, tome 38, col. 1,000. [2] *Ibid.*, tome 34, col. 1,043.

them to exact a profession of the Faith from every soul who should seek at their hands the boon of regeneration in the waters of baptism? The question of what was to be believed by the candidate for baptism, and in what "form of sound words" this Faith should find expression, pressed for solution from the very first. Therefore the Apostles took no steps to settle it once for all! The school of historic criticism, denying the Apostolic origin of the Symbol, must bear the burden of this incredible consequence.

CHAPTER V

THE SYMBOL IN THE EAST

I

The Nicene no New Creed.—At the close of the first quarter of the fourth century, the three hundred and eighteen Fathers assembled at Nice, reaffirmed, in what has ever since been known as the Nicene Creed, "the Faith once for all delivered to the saints". As set forth by the Council, this Creed ends abruptly at the ninth article. "There was question then of Arius, not of Origen", says St Jerome, "of the Son, not of the Holy Ghost. The Fathers affirmed what was denied, and passed over in silence what no one called in question[1]". So, too, the Anglican Blunt, at page 175 of his *Theological Dictionary:* "The Nicene Creed as preserved to us by Eusebius, breaks off with the words, *and in the Holy Ghost*, as being all that was germane matter to the pending controversy; but, within a few years Epiphanius supplies to us the fuller form as the Creed of the Church of Cyprus, which was reproduced almost verbatim by the Council of Constantinople". Epiphanius, in fact (*Ancoratus*, 118) cites the fuller form as the Symbol "prescribed by the three hundred and ten odd" in the Nicene Council, assuming, certainly not without reason, that the Fathers neither would nor could curtail the ancient Creed of the Church.

[1] *Ad Pammach. et Ocean.*, ep. 84, c. 4 (Migne, tome 22, col. 747).

It needs not, however, the testimony of Epiphanius or of Rufinus (who attests the agreement of the Eastern with the Western formulary in all but one or two trifling details) to assure us that the Creed of Nice is no new Creed. He who runs may read and see for himself that this is but a second edition, with explanatory notes, of the ancient formulary which St Leo the Great commends to us as "the Catholic and Apostolic Symbol". Article for article, though not word for word, they are one and the same. The later Creed is but an elaborated form of the older and simpler one. The same features, cast in their primitive mould, still look out at us familiarly from their new and more ornate setting.

II

Counterpart of Old Roman Symbol.—Now, this ancient and simple Creed, twin-sister of the Old Roman Symbol, nay, the very counterpart of it, existed in the East from the first. The framework of it was the same Trinitarian Formula; it comprised twelve articles; it was a Baptismal Creed as well as a Rule of Faith and test of orthodoxy. St Athanasius admires the fabric of it, wherein the "so great glory of the Most Holy Trinity is set forth in twelve distinct phrases", and declares that to "add to or take away aught from it were a sacrilege[1]". Eusebius cites the

[1] *De Profess. Reg. Cathol.*, ad init. This work, written in Latin and purporting to be a translation, is set down as genuine in the edition of the works of St Athanasius published at Paris in 1726, and republished at Cologne sixty years later. The citation given above is made from the later edition. Migne (P.G.) decides against its genuineness, and ascribes it to Idatius. He admits, however, that in all the MSS., and in all the editions of the work (*Libri S. Athanas. de Trinit.*, of which *De Profess. Reg. Cath.* is the seventh) it is ascribed to Athanasius; and the MSS. date from the twelfth century. Migne (P. L.) seeks to show that "Idatius" does but hide the identity of the real author, whom he makes out to be Vigilius of Thapsus,

epistle sent by the Synod of Antioch, in A.D. 268, to Pope Dionysius, in which Paul of Samosata is condemned as having "departed from the Rule of Faith and embraced a spurious doctrine[1]". The implication is that the Rule of Faith was the same in the East as in the West, the same at Antioch as at Rome. But the Roman Church never knew of any Rule of Faith, never recognized any Rule of Faith, other than the Apostolic Symbol. The profession of Faith presented by Arius and Euzoius to Constantine, some sixty years later, is still the ancient Symbol of the Church, with the seventh and eleventh articles left out, the second expanded somewhat, and the tenth thrown into the last place, as we find it also in a sermon (215) attributed to St Augustine.

"We believe", they write, "(1) in one God the Father Almighty, (2) and in Jesus Christ His Son, who was born of Him before all ages; God the Word, by whom were made all things in heaven and earth; who descended, (3) and was made man; (4) who suffered, (5) and rose again, (6) and ascended into

an African by birth, who flourished in the latter half of the fifth century. Driven from his see by the Arian Vandals, he took up his abode in Constantinople for a season, and there wrote a book against Eutyches. Cf. Migne, P. L., tome 62, cols. 94 and 493. The work from which the citation is given above is in the form of a dialogue between Athanasius and an Arian heretic. Well may the author, whoever he be, speak of the Baptismal Creed as "setting forth the so great glory of the Most Holy Trinity in twelve distinct phrases". The Council of Nice framed no new Creed, nor did it, as we have seen, set forth all the articles of the old and unwritten Creed of the Catholic Church. This was from the first and continued to be, in the words of Leo the Great, *duodecim apostolorum totidem signata sententiis*—recognizable as Apostolic by its having the Apostolic number of articles. The Fathers of Nice did but declare more clearly and fully the meaning of the ancient Creed by way of safeguarding "the Faith once for all delivered to the saints". "And anyhow", are the words of St Athanasius (*De Synod*, n. 43; Migne, P. G., tome 26), "the three hundred did not set down in writing anything newly invented." Hence, despite the fact that the Roman Church still clung to her ancient Symbol, the same Leo, writing to the Emperor Leo, could say with truth, "There is no question but that we preach and defend the same Faith which the holy Synod of Nice confirmed, declaring: *We believe in one God the Father Almighty*". (Epis. 165, Migne, tome 54, col. 1159).

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. 7, c. 30.

heaven ; (8) and is to come again to judge the living and the dead, (9) and in the Holy Ghost, (12) the resurrection of the flesh, and in the life of the world to come and in the kingdom of heaven ; (10) and in the one Catholic Church of God, which extends from end to end of the earth[1]".

Further evidence of the existence in the East, long before the time of the Nicene Council, of a Baptismal Creed held to be of Apostolic origin, is to be found in the *Didascalia*, whence Zahn has conjecturally restored it. The *Didascalia*, as Burn observes, was written in the third century, probably not far from Antioch. It attributes to the Twelve the composition of the Creed. " There is no trace here of Western influence", writes Burn, after citing a passage from it, " Yet we find a Trinitarian Creed traced back to an Apostolic Council". (*An Introduction to the Creeds :* Appendix F.).

III

Testimony of St Basil.—In the writings of St Basil we have abundant evidence of the existence in the East, from the very earliest times, of this primitive Ante-Nicene Creed. At the outset of his work against Eunomius, he says that if all upon whom the name of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ was invoked " had been content with the tradition of the Apostles and simplicity of the Faith, there would have been no need at this time of our discourse[2]". He cites Eunomius as saying :

" The more simple and common Faith of all who wish to appear or to be Christians, to state it in a condensed and compendious form, is as follows : We

[1] Socrat., *Hist.*, l. 1, c. 26 ; Sozom., *Hist.*, l. 2, c. 27.
[2] *Adv. Eunom.*, l. 1, n. 4.

believe in one God the Father Almighty, from whom are all things ; and in one only-begotten Son of God, God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things ; and in one Holy Ghost, the Paraclete ".

Eunomius here gives us expressly to understand that he is presenting but " a summary and compendium " of the primitive Creed. Plainly it was a Baptismal Creed, based upon the same Trinitarian Formula as the Old Roman Symbol. He appeals to it as " that pious tradition which prevailed from the first amongst the fathers as a kind of gnomon or rule." St Basil says that Arius " presented this same profession of Faith to Alexander, deceiving him ". He does not deny, he freely admits rather, that it was the ancient Creed of the Church ; but he complains that the Arians put their own interpretation on it. " And having ", he says, " set down the profession of Faith, he at once passes on to his interpretations ; for this reason among others, that the profession in question is not enough to do away with the charges under which he lies . . . Tell me, this pious tradition of the Fathers, and, as you yourself have termed it, this rule and gnomon and safe criterion, is it now, on the contrary, proclaimed to be an instrument of deceit and a means of deceiving[1]"? Elsewhere, dealing with its use as a Baptismal Creed, he says : " Shall I, then, give over that tradition which brought me to the light, which gave me the knowledge of God, by which I became a child of God ? . . . Nay, rather do I pray that it may be my good fortune to go hence

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 5. " For the Old Roman Creed, as any one may easily convince himself, is neutral with regard to the opposition between orthodoxy and Arianism. An Arian can perfectly well recite it, for he does not deny that Christ is the only Son of God, but, on the contrary, maintains it, together with all the other statements which are combined in the Creed ".—*The Apostles' Creed*, by Dr Adolf Harnack (translated from the German for *The Nineteenth Century*, July, 1893, by Mrs Humphry Ward).

to the Lord with this Confession (ὁμολογίας) on my lips[1]". Of this Baptismal Creed he says later on (c. 27; n. 67), "The very Confession of Faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, from what written records have we it"? Now, the Creed of the Council was a written Creed.

IV

Creed of Jerusalem.—This same Confession of Faith, which he calls "the Faith" simply, St Cyril of Jerusalem, a contemporary of St Basil, presents to us in his discourses to catechumens. "The Faith" was not written by Cyril; it is not to be found, as Migne notes, in any of the MSS. of his works; he forbore putting it in writing, as did St Augustine, conformably to the Discipline of the Secret. Still, it may be reconstructed from his writings, as it has been from those of St Augustine. Migne (*i.e.*, a writer cited by that editor) has picked out of his sermons and pieced together the Symbol of the Mother Church of Jerusalem, which is set forth in the following table, side by side with the Old Roman Symbol:

Old Roman Symbol	Symbol of Jerusalem
(1) I believe in God the Father Almighty;	(1) We believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;
(2) And in Christ Jesus, His Only Son, our Lord;	(2) And in one Lord Jesus Christ, only-begotten Son of God, born true God of the Father, before all ages; by whom all things were made;
(3) Born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary;	(3) Who came in the flesh, and was made man of the Holy Virgin and the Holy Ghost [*Catech.* 4a, n. 9];
(4) Crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried,	(4) Crucified and buried,
(5) Rose again the third day from the dead,	(5) Rose again the third day;

[1] *Liber de Spiritu Sancto*, c. 9, n. 26 (Migne, tome 32).

Old Roman Symbol	Symbol of Jerusalem
(6) Ascended into heaven.	(6) And ascended into heaven.
(7) Sitteth at the right hand of the Father,	(7) And sitteth at the right hand of the Father.
(8) Whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.	(8) And is to come in glory to judge the quick and dead; of whose kingdom there shall be no end.
(9) And in the Holy Ghost;	(9) And in one Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, who spoke by the prophets;
(10) The Holy Church,	(10) And in one holy Catholic Church;
(11) The remission of sins;	(11) And in one baptism of penance for the remission of sins;
(12) The resurrection of the flesh.	(12) And in the resurrection of the flesh, and the life everlasting.

Here, then, we have the Baptismal Creed of the Mother Church of Jerusalem. Immediately on finishing his exposition of it, St Cyril says to his catechumens: "We have discoursed upon the holy and Apostolic Faith (Symbol) that has been delivered to you, and that you are to make profession of[1]". The fact that this Symbol was in use in the Church of Jerusalem in the fourth century serves to dissipate the doubt raised by Harnack, where he says: "But if the Cæsarean symbol is not one framed for a particular community, then we know absolutely nothing of any definite, detailed, ancient communal symbols in the East of any date preceding the Nicene Creed[2]". For here is a definite, detailed, ancient Eastern Symbol, "communal, such as the Roman", for the Church of Jerusalem formed the nucleus of a great religious community in the East, as the Church of Rome did in the West; and demonstrably older than the Nicene Creed. It bespeaks an earlier stage of development than that Creed, as any one may see who will be at the pains to compare the two; it wants several of the additions made at Nice, notably

[1] *Cat.* 17; 32.

[2] *The Apostles' Creed* (translated from the German by the Rev. Stewart Means), p. 43.

the ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί; it is the simpler formulary, and therefore the older. Besides, how comes it to have been still the Baptismal Creed of Jerusalem in St Cyril's day, after the promulgation of the Nicene decrees, but that it already was in possession there time out of mind, and so could claim exemption, even as did the Old Roman Creed, on the score of its Apostolic origin?

V

A Sister's Daughter.—But what is the relationship of St Cyril's Creed to the Old Roman Symbol? Harnack finds it to be "so close that Cyril's Symbol can only be the daughter or the sister of the Roman one[1]". The sister it cannot well be: it bears about it the tokens of too ripe a growth for that. Therefore, Harnack concludes that it must be the daughter. Unfortunately for this conclusion, his disjunctive is not complete. Cyril's Symbol may stand in the relation of a sister's daughter to the Roman one. And this, as will now be shown, is just the relationship. Harnack's guess as to the Roman origin of St Cyril's Creed rests on the assumption that there was no Baptismal Creed in the East before the Council of Nice promulgated its Creed—an assumption that has not the faintest shadow of warrant in fact. As well might he maintain that the Mother Church of Jerusalem got her Faith and Baptism from Rome as that she got her Symbol thence. And here let me say, with all the deference that is due to Harnack's undoubted scholarship, that when he commits himself to the statement that "there was no established

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

baptismal confession of faith in the East in the third century", he does but declare his own unfitness to give expert testimony on the question that is under discussion. There never yet has been a Church within the pale of Christ's world-wide Kingdom but has had some fixed Baptismal Confession of Faith. "The Faith" in which St Cyril baptized his catechumens, was not, he tells them expressly, the Faith of the East alone, or of the West alone, but of the Catholic Church—the Church of all ages and of all lands, the same in Jerusalem as in Rome, the same in the first century as in the fourth. "The Catholic Church", he says, "teaches you in the Confession of Faith to believe in one Holy Spirit[1]". But since "baptism bestows the Rule of Truth", or Confession of Faith, which Irenæus tells us it did even in the second century, then as surely as there was baptism in the East before the Council of Nice, so surely was there in the East a fixed Baptismal Creed.

VI

Creed of Marcellus.—Stripped of its additions (all of them of a strongly marked Eastern character), Cyril's Creed is the primitive Creed of the Church; the ancient Confession in which Athanasius (or is it Vigilius ?) finds the "so great glory of the Most Holy Trinity set forth in twelve distinct phrases"; the "gnomon and rule and safe criterion", based upon the Baptismal Formula, to which Eunomius and the other Arians of his day appeal as to "the common Faith of all who wish to appear or to be Christians"; the

[1] *Catech.* 17, n. 3.

Creed, in fine, which Marcellus of Ancyra brought with him from the East and presented to Pope Julius, some time between A.D. 337 and 341, as the Confession learned "from my forefathers in God". It is true that Marcellus says he learned it also from the Scriptures; but so say many of the Fathers, among them some who say in the same breath that it was composed by the Apostles[1]. They mean, of course, as Marcellus meant, that they found in the Scriptures every truth set forth in the Creed. There is one thing, however, that Marcellus does not say: he does not say that he learned his Creed in Rome. And yet the critics, in the very teeth of what he does say, namely, that he got his Creed from his "forefathers in God" (who were not Romans), tell us that the Creed of Marcellus is the Old Roman Creed. In this the critics are true to their method, but false to fact, or rather what they take to be the fact. If the Old Roman Creed was drawn up at Rome some time between A.D. 100 and 150, as certain of the critics believe, then the Creed of Marcellus is emphatically not the Old Roman Creed. If, on the other hand, the Old Roman Creed is what Hilary and Ambrose and Jerome and Leo and Rufinus say it is—the Symbol of Faith composed by the Twelve before their separation, the Creed of Marcellus, with "Father" added to its first article, and "life everlasting" dropped from the twelfth, is the Old Roman or Apostles' Creed.

The fatal mistake made by the critics in dealing with the Creed of Marcellus is to have judged of it by the later polemical formularies which sprang up like mushrooms in the East after the rise of the Arian

[1] Cf. Cassianus, *De Incarnat.*, l. 6, c. 3 (Migne, tome 50); St Cyril, *Catech.*, 5; 12 compared with *Catech.* 17; 32.

heresy[1]. The Creed of Marcellus is older than any of these formularies, is not a polemical Creed, and was not a written Creed till he put it in writing for the first time. Marcellus himself was one of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers who gave to the world the Nicene Symbol, and was distinguished at the Council for his championship of the Orthodox Faith. The Creed that he got from his "forefathers in God" existed in the East, therefore, long before Arius was born.

VII

Testimony of St Hilary.—Let me cite, in further proof of this, one or two passages from the writings of so competent a witness as St Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers. Hilary knew the East thoroughly in the first half of the fourth century, having striven earnestly there with the Arians, on their own ground, for "the Faith once delivered to the Saints". An exile in the East, he writes to the Emperor Constantius. Here is the context of the passage just given in the footnote:

"Recognize, excellent and most pious Emperor, the Creed which you formerly desired to hear from the (Arian) Bishops, and did not. For when it was sought from them, they wrote out their own creeds, and taught not the things of God. They have carried their error round the everlasting globe, and with it a strife that ever returns upon itself. Man in his

[1] "Sprang up like mushrooms" is a strong expression, but will hardly appear exaggerated in view of what St Hilary, a contemporary witness, tells us in *Ad Constantium*. "For we bear witness one to another", he writes, "how that, ever since the Synod was convened at Nice, there is nothing but creed-writing. . . . Yearly and monthly Creeds (faiths) are issued, those issued set aside, those set aside defended, the defenders anathematized . . ." (*Ibid.*, lib. 2, n. 5.)

feebleness ought to have been modest, and to have kept the sacrament (mystery, symbol) of the knowledge of God in his conscience within those terms wherein he (first) made an act of faith. It behoved him not, after confessing under oath in baptism the Faith *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, to doubt aught, or innovate aught. But through presumption, or complaisance, or error, some have deceitfully confessed the unchangeable ordinance[1] of the Apostolic doctrine; others have boldly gone beyond it; while the true, natural meaning of the Confession in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is evaded, lest that meaning should remain which ought to be confessed in the sacrament of regeneration. . . . (*Ibid.*, n. 4).

"A Creed, then, is sought, as if there were no Creed. The Creed must be written, as if it were not in the heart. Born again by faith, now we are taught unto Faith, as if that second birth were without Faith. We learn Christ after baptism, as if there could be any baptism without the Faith of Christ . . . As it is the safest course for those who sail the stormy sea in winter, when shipwreck threatens, to return to the port whence they set sail; and as it behoves inexperienced young men, who have gone beyond the bounds observed by their father, and, in keeping up the home, have spent their patrimony with too prodigal a hand, now, for fear of losing their all, to go back to the way of their father, as the needful and only safe way; so, amid such shipwreck of the Faith as we see around us, when the heritage of our heavenly patrimony is all but squandered, the safest course for us is to hold fast the first and only Evangelical Creed, learned and confessed in baptism . . . This I have so believed in the Holy Spirit that I cannot now be taught any Faith beyond it concerning the Lord Jesus Christ: not thereby dissenting from the Faith of the Fathers (Nicene Creed), but following the

[1] "Constitutionem" may properly be rendered "rule" or "symbol"

Symbol of my second birth, and the knowledge of evangelical doctrine, which are in no wise at variance with that (Creed) ".—*Ibid.*, n. 6-11.

Thus does Hilary, writing to Constantius, take for granted, as something known to all, the existence, in the East, too, of a Baptismal Creed based upon the Trinitarian Formula; of a Creed which antedated all written Creeds, including the Nicene. He calls it "the first and only Evangelical Creed, learned and confessed in baptism," the "Apostolic Faith" (n. 6), *i.e.*, Symbol, and sets forth as its content (n. 11), approved also by Scripture, as many as seven articles of the Old Roman Creed. In short, he makes it plain that he is referring to what has been ever known in the Church as the Symbol of the Apostles. He counsels to Christians in the East, under the Emperor Constantius, a return to this the Creed of their baptism. Perhaps those who say that "there was no established baptismal confession of faith in the East in the third century," will tell us how there can be a return to that which never existed.

VIII

The Unwritten Creed.—Upheld by St Hilary, and borne, as it were, upon his shoulders, we can see far into the third century, and descry in the East the object of our quest—a counterpart and *alter ego* of the Old Roman Symbol. But there is yet another passage in the writings of St Hilary which must be cited. It is found in the *Liber de Synodis seu de Fide Orientalium*. We learn from it that while the Creed was never written in the West in Hilary's time, polemical formularies, written Creeds based upon the

Symbol, began to be published in the East owing to the spread of heresy. He is addressing his brother Bishops in Germany and other parts of the West:

"But blessed are ye in the Lord and full of glory, who hold fast, in the confession of the conscience, the perfect and Apostolic Creed, and as yet know nothing of written creeds. For you stand not in need of the letter, abounding as you do in the spirit. Nor do you want the help of a hand to write what you believe with the heart, and confess with the lips unto salvation. Neither was it needful for you to read out to a bishop what you held (in memory) when you stood at the baptismal font. But necessity has introduced the custom of setting forth creeds in writing and subscribing to them. For where the inmost sentiment of the mind is in question, there the letter is required. And certainly there is no bar to the writing of that which it is salutary to confess" (*Ibid.*, n. 63.)

Later on, however, (n. 84) he deems it needful to offer this justification of his having reproduced in writing the Nicene Creed:

"And the Symbol itself which was at that time piously put in writing, it will not be impious in us to have inserted in this our work".

From these passages we gather that the Baptismal Creed, which Hilary plainly implies to have been the same in the East as in the West, and which he speaks of as an "unchangeable ordinance", or "rule" of Apostolic doctrine, was not at all a written Creed, and is not to be confounded with any of the numerous polemical confessions called forth by the Arian controversy. These, indeed, were built on the foundation of the unwritten Creed, but so fashioned as the exigencies of each case required. Hence we find the

second article, about which the main controversy raged, to be abnormally developed in most of these formularies, while the third is often rudimentary[1]. To Hilary it appeared as if, amid this multiplicity of creeds, Faith in the East had parted from her old moorings, and, tossed about on an angry sea of controversy, could escape shipwreck only by a return to the safe anchorage of her ancient Symbol.

IX

Origen's "Plain Rule."—We have traced this Symbol in the East, through Basil, Hilary, and Marcellus, back to the third century. Both Hilary and Marcellus first saw the light towards the close of that century, and "the forefathers in God", from whom the latter got the Symbol, belong to an earlier period. Among them we may reckon Origen and Clement of Alexandria. Here are the elements of what Origen calls "the sure outline and plain rule of Apostolic teaching", as given in *Of Beginnings*, Bk 1, n. 4.

(1) "There is one God who created and ordered all things"; (2) "this God . . . sent our Lord Jesus Christ", (3) "who . . . took a body . . . born of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost"; (4) "suffered truly . . . truly died"; (5) "truly rose from the dead"; (6) "and after His resurrection . . . was taken up". (9) "Then . . . they have handed down (the belief in) the Holy Ghost". (10) "After this, that the soul, . . . when it quits this world, will be dealt with according to its deserts; will possess the heritage of eternal life, or be banished into everlasting

[1] Writers on this subject usually refer to the ninth article with those that follow as the "third" because it introduces the last of the three main divisions of the Symbol.

fire; . . . but also that a time will come when the dead shall rise again[1]".

The numerals point to the corresponding articles of the Old Roman Creed. It will be noticed that mention is made of the Holy Ghost in the article on the Virgin Birth—an uncommon thing in the written creeds of the century that followed. Who can doubt that we have here the Apostolic Symbol, so far as the Discipline of the Secret admitted of its being given in writing? Origen tells us that it was "handed down from the Apostles through successive generations", and that "that alone is to be received as true which in no wise disagrees with the ecclesiastical and Apostolic Tradition". (*Ibid.*, n. 2).

X

Symbol of Alexandria.—About the middle of the third century, shortly before the death of Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, writing to Dionysius of Rome, who afterwards became Pope, tells him that Novatian has strayed so far from the truth as to "overturn the Confession of Faith (πίστιν χαι ὁμολογίαν) which precedes baptism[2]". Here is further evidence, not inferential, but direct and categorical, of the existence in the East, in the third century, of what Harnack has so egregiously failed to find there, "an established baptismal confession of Faith". Dionysius makes no manner of doubt that his Roman namesake will know what truths are embodied in the Baptismal Creed which he does but mention merely; the same Faith and the same Baptism would involve the use of the same Symbol

[1] Migne, tome 11. [2] Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, Bk. 7, ch. 8.

within the pale of the same Catholic and Apostolic Church. It is this Symbol of the Church of Alexandria that Origen summarizes for us in the passage cited above. He got it when a boy from Clement, the great catechist of that Church ; for Eusebius tells us that Origen attended the catechetical instruction given by Clement[1]. We can picture to ourselves the precocious boy eagerly drinking in those words of the venerable old teacher who had " been worthy to hear " men who " preserved the true tradition of the blessed doctrine, directly from Peter, and James, and John, and Paul, the holy Apostles, having received it in succession, the son from the father, though few resemble their fathers[2]". "Follow God", Clement exhorted his hearers, " . . . holding fast what is thine, what is good, what cannot be taken from thee, the Faith in God, the Confession in Him who surfered[3]". This he calls " a most precious possession ", and well he may, for it is no other than that pearl of great price, the Symbol of the Apostles, which sums up in twelve articulate words " the Faith once for all delivered to the saints ". In a later chapter (1, 6, c. 10.) he defines it for us as " the knowledge, in a brief and compendious form, of those things that are necessary to be known ".

XI

Justin and Ignatius.—Of this same Symbol we find clear traces—more we may not look for—in the writings of Justin and Ignatius, the disciple of St John.

[1] *Ibid.*, Bk. 6, ch. 6. [2] *Stromata*, Bk. 1.

[3] *τὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν πίστιν, τὴν εἰς τὸν παθόντα, ὁμολογίαν.*" *Paed.*, l. 2; c. 3. " Eusebius and the Nicene Council " the observant Pearson notes (Vol. 2, p. 14) " have *παθόντα* only in their Creeds ".

" As many as are persuaded and believe ", writes the former, " that the things we teach and declare are true, and give assurance that they are able to live accordingly, . . . are then led by us where there is water, and are regenerated after the manner of regeneration whereby we also are regenerated[1]". The reference to the catechetical instruction and profession of faith which precede baptism is explicit, and the renunciation of Satan, his works, and his pomps, is clearly implied. St Justin adds that " they are then washed in that water, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of all things, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost", and later on varies the mention of the Second Person, saying " in the name of Jesus Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate ", where the addition " under Pontius Pilate " carries the mind back to the profession of faith in the words of the Symbol, which preceded baptism. He had already (n. 31) given, from the prophetical books of the Old Testament, a summary of " christological attributes ", which plain people are familiar with as that part of the Creed that concerns the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity.

In St Ignatius' *Ad Trallianos* the early use of the Symbol in its recommendatory character, as a test of Church membership, is not obscurely hinted at. The passage runs (the numbers once more refer to the articles of the Old Roman Creed) :

" Close, then, your ears to any one who speaks to you apart from (2) Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David ; (3) who was of Mary, who was truly born, ate and drank ; (4) truly suffered persecution under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died, in the

[1] *Apol.* 1, n. 61 (Migne, tome 6). Cf. also *ibid.*, nn. 21, 42, 46 ; *Dial.* 15, 132.

sight of those who are in heaven, on earth, and under the earth ; (5) who also truly arose again from the dead, His Father having raised Him ; (12) as His Father will raise in Jesus Christ, without whom we have no true life, after the likeness of Him, us also who in Him believe ".—*Ib.*, c. 9. *Cf.* also *Ad. Smyr.*, c. 1, where with other elements of the Symbol, " one body of His church ", is included.

XII

A Side-Glance.—It may be well, before going further, to cast a side-glance at the futile attempt of Kattenbusch and Harnack to free their theory from straits. The difficulty which they had to find some way out of was this. If the Symbol originated in Rome in the second century, how came it to be the Baptismal Creed of the Eastern Church in the fourth ? When and where did it gain official entrance into the East ? The failure of the two German writers to answer this question satisfactorily is conspicuous and complete. Both of them seem to regard " the period of struggles with Paul of Samosata[1] " as a likely one for their attempt at smuggling the Old Roman Creed into the Orient. But we have given chapter and verse of Eusebius to show that, during this very period, the East had its Rule of Faith, and that the Church of Alexandria was in peaceful possession of her Baptismal Creed some years before the heresiarch of Samosata was deposed from the See of Antioch. We say " some years ", so as to be strictly within the letter of our historical warrant.

Now, Dionysius of Alexandria, Origen, and Clement

[1] *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 49.

got their Symbol or Baptismal Creed in the East, where they were " born again " unto God in baptism. For baptism, as Irenæus tells us, " bestows the Rule of Truth ", which is no other than the Baptismal Creed. This is " the true tradition of the blessed doctrine " which came down from the Apostles, the son receiving it from his father in God and Christ. And as all succession in Christ from father to son had its source in the East, it follows that the Baptismal Creed, handed down in the direct line of that succession, had in the East its origin. Baptized in the East within about a half century of the passing of St John, Irenæus got the Creed there with his baptism. He brought it with him to the West, too, whither it had been brought long before his day. And he assures us that the Church of the second century, various as were the languages in which she spoke, professed her Baptismal Faith, wherever in all the world she begot children to God, in terms of one and the same Apostolic Rule of Truth.

XIII

" **Handed Down from the Apostles.**"—The Church in the East, from the fifth century upward, witnesses, with the Church in the West, to the Apostolic authorship of the Symbol. Some of the Eastern Fathers give no more than an implicit declaration of their mind in the matter, as St John Chrysostom, when he says : " Hence it is plain that they (the Apostles) did not deliver everything in writing, but much also without writing ; and this too is worthy of belief. Wherefore, we account also the tradition of the Church worthy of belief. It is the tradition : seek nothing

further[1]". We have also explicit testimony. St John Cassian, disciple and deacon of St Chrysostom, bears witness that the Symbol "was put together by the Apostles of the Lord[2]". "I have delivered to you the Apostolic Faith", writes St Athanasius to Serapion, "as it has been handed down to us by the Fathers[3]". In his *Liber de Spiritu Sancto* c. 27 (Migne, P. G., tome 32), St Basil enumerates the "Confession of Faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost", among "the teachings transmitted in a secret manner from the tradition of the Apostles". "May we, to the last breath of life", writes St Gregory Nazianzen, "confess with great confidence that excellent Deposit of the holy fathers who were nearest to Christ; that Confession of the primitive Faith which has been familiar to us from childhood, which we first uttered and with which may we depart this life, bearing godliness with us hence, this, if nothing else[4]". Again he refers to the Symbol as "that excellent Deposit which we received from our fathers; adoring the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost . . . in whose name we have been cleansed in the waters of baptism[5]". St Epiphanius testifies that the Church "received the Faith (Symbol) as a sacred trust from the Apostles"; and, having cited the Nicene Symbol, with the addition of the articles omitted by the Council, adds: "This Formula of Faith was handed down to us from the holy Apostles, and prescribed in the holy city by all the

[1] *Hom. in Ep.* 2 *ad Thessal.*, c. 2—Hom. IV (Migne, tome 62).
[2] *De Incar. Christi*, l. 6, c. 3. [3] *Ep. ad Serap.*, n. 33 (Migne, tome 26).
[4] Καὶ ὁμολογοίημεν μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνοηῆς ἐν πολλῇ παῤῥησίᾳ τὴν καλὴν παρακαταθήκην τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, τῶν ἐγγυτέρῳ χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς πρώτης πίστεως τὴν σύντροφον ἡμῖν ἐκ παίδων ὁμολογίαν, ἣν πρώτην ἐφθεγξαμένην, καὶ ἣν τελευταῖαν συναπελαύοιμεν, τοῦτο, εἰ μή τι ἄλλο, ἐντεῦθεν ἀποφερόμενοι τὴν εὐσέβειαν.—*Orat.* 11, alias 6 (Migne, tome 35, col. 832).
[5] *Orat.* 6, n. 22 (Migne, tome 35).

Bishops, in number, three hundred and eighteen[1]". Here Epiphanius speaks by the book, for the Fathers of Nice did not draw up the Symbol—that was the work of the Apostles. They did but define the meaning of it more clearly, and re-affirm, with all the authority vested in them, the truths which it embodied. Finally, the two hundred Bishops assembled at Ephesus in 431, in their *Relation* to the Emperor Theodosius, speak of "the Faith (*i.e.*, Symbol), originally delivered (to the Church) by the Apostles, and afterwards expounded by the three hundred and eighteen Fathers in the metropolitan city of Nice[2]". The testimony of Irenæus to the existence in the East as well as in the West, in his day, of a Baptismal Creed and Rule of Truth handed down from the Apostles, has been cited in a preceding chapter.

At the fourth General Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), the Letter of Pope Leo the Great to Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, was read to the assembled prelates. In this letter the Roman Symbol is cited in sections word for word, and commended as the common Confession of all the baptized on earth. (*Cf.*, c. 2, p. 54). Directly after the reading of the letter, the Greek bishops at the Council exclaimed: "This is the Faith of the Fathers. This is the Faith of the Apostles[3]". "Even more than this was done at the Trullan Council, the so-called *Concilium quinisextium*", says Zahn[4]. "The fathers of this council in their first canon confess 'that which was delivered by the eye-witnesses and servants of the Word, the Apostles of the Church chosen by

[1] *Ancoratus*, 118 (Migne, tome 43).
[2] Bollandist's *Acta Sanctorum*, die 15 Julii.
[3] Hefele, *Conzilien*, ii, 440 ff.; 453 f., 547.
[4] *The Articles of the Apostles' Creed*, pp. 220, 221.

God.' They then acknowledge the faith more exactly determined by the 318 fathers of Nicaea against Arius, as well as the five Œcumenical Councils which followed. We can only understand by this that the Greeks wished to point to that confession which was in use among them as a baptismal confession before, and for a considerable time after, the Council of Nicaea, as an inheritance from the times of the Apostles, even as a work of the Apostles."

XIV

A Belated Witness.—On page 4 of a now oft-cited work, Harnack tells his readers that "the Eastern Church has at no time traced any creed to an Apostolic origin, or designated any as Apostolic in the strict sense of the word". The evidence that has now been brought forward in disproof will make it needful for Harnack to buttress his assertion with some more substantial prop than the declaration of a Greek Archbishop at Florence some fourteen hundred years after Paul preached the risen Christ to the men of Athens.

Harnack's authority is cited in a footnote, as follows: "*Cf.* the testimony of Archbishop Marcus Eugenicus at the Council of Florence, in 1438, as given by Sylvester Sguropolis, *Hist. Concil. Florent.*, sect. 6, c. 6, p. 150, edit. Rob. Creyghton, 1660". The testimony of a fifteenth century witness, is accepted; the testimony of fourth century witnesses, of Basil, and Gregory, and Epiphanius, is ignored.

We have traced the Symbol back to the Apostolic Age, following our quest in the East as in the West, along a trail of light, in the path of the ancient tradition.

CHAPTER VI

THE SYMBOL IN THE SECOND CENTURY

I

A Flimsy Theory.—It may be well, at this stage, to take some notice of Professor McGiffert's theory of the origin of the Symbol. On his hypothesis, the Church might still have been without her Creed, had not Marcion, driven from Pontus, sought an asylum in Rome, some time after the middle of the second century, and there set himself to teach a form of heresy, which was not, however, original with him[1]. McGiffert maintains that the Symbol was drawn up to meet the errors of Marcion. The work in which he essays to make good his contention[2] shows him to be a man of well-trained mind, a man who has learned to think for himself. He does not take his data at second hand, nor does he let others draw the conclusions for him.

It must in fairness be granted that Professor McGiffert pleads his case with not a little skill. But, given a bad case, the cleverest of pleaders can do no more than make it plausible: he cannot make it good. The theory that the Symbol was framed to head off the heresy of Marcion, however much labour and skill may be employed in setting it up, is but a

[1] Cf. Irenæus, *Adv. Haer*, Bk 3, c. 4, n. 3.
[2] *The Apostles' Creed*, by Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

house of cards, which a very slight puff of wind would blow down. A gust or two from North Africa will sweep it clean into the Adriatic.

II

Demolished by Tertullian.—In *De Praescript.* 36, Tertullian testifies that the Roman Church got her Symbol from the Apostles Peter and Paul, and afterwards gave it to proconsular Africa (*cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesserarit.*) He proceeds, in the very next paragraph (37), to confute, after his own strenuous fashion, the heretics of his day :

If these things be so, that the truth may be adjudged to us, as many as walk according to that Rule which the Church has handed down from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God, the reasonableness of our position is plain, that heretics are not to be allowed to appeal to the Scriptures, seeing that we prove them without the Scriptures to have nothing to do with the Scriptures . . . To such it may be justly said : Who are you ? When and whence came ye ? Not being mine, what do ye in that which is mine ? In short, by what right dost thou, Marcion, cut down my wood ? By what license dost thou, Valentinus, turn the course of my waters ? By what authority dost thou, Apelles, remove my landmarks ? This is my property. Why are the rest of you sowing and feeding here at your pleasure ? Mine is possession ; I possess of old ; I have sound title-deeds from the first owners whose property it was. As they bequeathed it to me by will, as they left it in trust, as they solemnly charged me (*adjuraverunt*, gave under oath), so I hold it ; you certainly they have ever disinherited and disowned as aliens, as enemies. But whence are heretics aliens and enemies to the Apostles if not from the diversity of doctrine, which

they either fashion according to their own caprices, or receive, in opposition to the Apostles?

Thus does the man trained in the law-schools of Carthage confute "Marcion, the skipper[1] from Pontus" (*Ibid.*, c. 30), by the argument of prescription. He founds this argument on the possession by the Roman Church of the Apostolic Symbol long before the "skipper" in question crossed the Black Sea. He disallows the appeal to Scripture. The Church is in possession of the truth, of "the Faith once delivered to the saints". She can point to "sound title-deeds from the first owners whose property it was". She produces her Apostolic Symbol. This is the "rule" and "tessera" of the orthodox Faith, which the Apostles committed to her. This, as St. Ambrose bears witness, some two centuries later, she "ever preserves inviolate". And this in the words of Leo the Great, is "a weapon so cunningly forged in the workshop of heaven that it cuts off all heretical opinions at one stroke". (*Ad Pulch.* c. 4). McGiffert would make the Roman Church wait till Marcion had come and was spreading his heresy before she cast about for a means of defending the Faith—as if there were no doctrinal error before Marcion, and no use for a Baptismal Creed but to fight heresy withal! Tertullian, skilled in the law and familiar at first hand with the facts of the case, represents the Church to us as wiser, more far-seeing, and more faithful in guarding the deposit. When she finds Marcion cutting down her wood, felling the trees that had been planted by the Apostles, she warns him off, she bids him begone. And her Apostolic Symbol is, Tertullian

[1] This is the meaning of "nauclerus" in *Acts* 27 : 11, and seems to fit the context of this passage in Tertullian better than "ship-owner".

tells us, at once the weapon with which she drives away the intruder and the deed of trust whereby she makes good her claim to the property.

III

"The Skipper from Pontus."—In *Adv. Marc.* v. 1, Tertullian, addressing directly and by name, this same "skipper" from Pontus," (he was a "skipper" from Pontus in more senses than one) says to him: "If thou hast never received stolen or contraband goods into thy schooners, if thou hast never appropriated any of the cargo to thy own uses or adulterated it, thou art more careful, of course, and faithful in the things of God. Tell us, then, pray, by what symbol thou hast taken the teaching of the Apostle Paul on board, who stamped the label on it, who handed it over to thee, who put it on board, that thou mayest be able fearlessly to land it?" Marcion held that the God revealed by Christ and in Christ was not the God of the Old Testament, and maintained that St Paul was with him in holding this. Tertullian intimates that "the skipper from Pontus", who, he insinuates, had been a smuggler, and had been in the habit of tampering with the goods that he carried for others, is no more to be trusted in handling the wares of God than in the handling of worldly wares. He challenges him, therefore, to produce his bill of lading as a guarantee that he has not smuggled the doctrine of the Apostle aboard his ship, or adulterated it. The teachings of St Paul were spiritual wares which belonged to the Church, as the Apostle himself belonged to her. If, therefore,

Marcion had these wares on board his ship he should be able to show that the Church had put her label on them and consigned them to him. The bill of lading would show this ; he therefore bids him exhibit it. Need it be pointed out that the bill of lading (symbolum) in question is no other than the Apostolic Symbol ?

The passage runs thus in the original Latin :

" Quamobrem, Pontice nauclere, si nunquam furtivas merces vel illicitas in acatos tuas recepisti ; si nullum onus avertisti vel adulterasti, cautior utique et fidelior in Dei rebus, edas velim nobis quo symbolo susceperis Apostolum Paulum, quis illum tituli charactere percusserit, quis transmiserit tibi, quis imposuerit, ut possis eum constanter exponere."

It is true that the context shows it to have been the God of the Old Testament, who, according to Tertullian, would have to consign St Paul and his teaching to " the skipper from Pontus ". But as Tertullian everywhere insists that, in controverted questions, the appeal does not lie to Scripture, and that the Church alone has the office of guarding the Scripture, and guaranteeing it to men as the Word of God, it is only through the Church that the God of the Old Testament could make the consignment, and the " bill of lading " would be the Symbol just the same. It was with the " Father Almighty " of the Symbol that the " skipper " had entered into the " agreement ". But he had tampered with the goods, interpolating the Epistles of St Paul and taking liberties with the text. He had therefore violated the terms of his " agreement " or " covenant " (symbol) with the Church, and would not venture to produce it on demand because it would bear witness against

him. In other words, he could not land the adulterated goods "constanter", that is fearlessly.

IV

The Pre-Marcionite Confession.—Irenæus, too, bears direct testimony to the pre-Marcionite existence of the Symbol over and above the indirect testimony that is implied in his witnessing to its Apostolic origin. "As for Cerdon", he writes (Bk 3, c. 4, n. 3), "who was before Marcion, he too under Hyginus, who was ninth Bishop, came to the Church, made his confession, and so continued, sometimes teaching privily, sometimes again doing penance, and sometimes under censure for the evil he was teaching, and separated from the assembly of the brethren. And Marcion succeeding him flourished under Anicetus who occupied the tenth (eleventh) place in the Episcopate". The form of words, "made his confession", does not, at least in the formal and first intention of Irenæus, bear the sense here that it has in current Catholic use. It means to make a formal profession of Faith, and such a profession supposes a fixed formula already existing in Rome before the man from Pontus ever set foot there.

This is more evident from the words of the Greek original, a fragment of which fortunately remains at this point: ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθὼν, καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος, οὕτως διετέλεσε, ποτὲ μὲν λαθροδιδασκαλῶν, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἐξομολογούμενος. The verb ἐξομολογεῖν means to "make a full confession", whether of sins, or of the Faith, or what not, is to be gathered from the context. The context here shows that Cerdon made at least a confession of the Faith. "He came to the [Roman] Church [from Syria],

made his profession, and so continued, now teaching [his heresy] secretly, now making anew his profession". It is with Cerdon's doctrinal standing, not with his moral status otherwise, that Irenæus is concerned; for his whole work, as the title itself witnesses, is directed against heresy. His πάλιν ἐξομολογούμενος is therefore to be rendered "making again a profession of the Faith", or "recanting his errors", and not simply "again doing penance", as Keble has it. Would Irenæus deem it worth while stating that Cerdon, who had come from the East to Rome, went to confession there? And who would care to know whether he did or not? The second ἐξομολογούμενος means what the first means, as πάλιν attests; and the whole drift and purpose of Irenæus indicates that the first has to do with Faith, at least primarily. Add to this that the "confession" which Cerdon made the second time was called for by reason of his having taught his errors secretly after he had made the first. Now, the very first thing that one who had taught false doctrine would have to do, before being reconciled to the Church, would be to recant his errors and profess the true Faith. It would be interesting to know what Harnack would make of ἐξομολογούμενος in this passage. The matter of course way in which Irenæus uses the word implies that the people of Gaul, for whom particularly he wrote, were familiar with the ὁμολογία in question.

V

The Oath of Allegiance.—In his great work, *De Prescriptionibus*, Tertullian rests his whole case against heresy upon the prior possession by the Church of

" the Faith once delivered to the saints ". And this prior possession he proves by her Symbol, which is the deed of trust she got from the Apostles. The whole argument of the book assumes the existence of the Symbol from the beginning. By the Apostolic Symbol men were known to be in communion with the Church of the Apostles, which was one. And the Symbol was guarded by the Discipline of the Secret, whence it got the name of " sacramentum ", that is, " oath ", " mystery ", " secret ". Let me cite one or two passages in point. " Thus ", he writes (*Ibid.*, c. 20)," so many Churches and so great are that one primitive Church from the Apostles, whence all have sprung. All by one prove their unity. Between all there is the communication of peace, and the greeting one another as brethren, and the interchange of hospitality through the Symbol (*contesseratio hospitalitatis*). And no other principle governs these privileges but the one (common) tradition of the same mystery (*ejusdem sacramenti una traditio*)." In military language " sacramentum " meant, in the olden time, " the preliminary engagement entered into by newly enlisted troops " ; also, " the military oath of allegiance[1]". No word could better express the purposes of the Symbol, which was the preliminary engagement entered into by the neophyte or newly enlisted soldier of Christ in the Church Militant, and was professed, as we have seen, in baptism with an oath of fealty to Christ and to His Church. It was also " sacramentum " in three of the four meanings which the word bears in ecclesiastical Latin. It came within the Discipline of the Secret, and was,

[1] Cf. Harper's Freund's Latin Dictionary.

therefore, " secret ". For " to hide the secret of a king " (*Tob.* 12 : 7) the Vulgate has " sacramentum regis abscondere ". It enshrined the mysteries of the Faith, and therefore was itself, by a common figure of speech, a " mystery ". " And evidently great is the mystery of godliness ", says St Paul (1 *Tim.* 3 : 16), where the Vulgate reads " sacramentum pietatis ". Once more, the Symbol was the whole revelation of God in a compendious form, and was therefore fittingly called " the gospel revelation ", which is the meaning of " sacramentum " in a passage in Prudentius[1].

VI

The Christian Password.—The expression " ejusdem sacramenti una traditio ", in the passage cited above, may be rendered " the exchange of the same password ". When the little army of Christ, sworn to make war on sin and error only, moved out from Jerusalem to subdue the world, its password was the Symbol. " We were called to the warfare of the living God ", says Tertullian (*Ad. Marty.* 3) " from the moment that we returned the password (*cum in sacramenti verba respondimus*) ". This password it was that " governed " the " privileges " specified by him, namely, " the communication of peace, the greeting of brethren, and the interchange of hospitality ", in the early Church. The pilgrim from afar gave the Symbol, and got in return the salutation of peace, the name of brother, the privileges of the welcome guest. So we read further on that heretics " are not received into peace and communion by the

[1] Cf. the Dictionary above cited

Churches that are in any way Apostolic [*i.e.*, as having been founded by an Apostle or mothered by such as were so founded], precisely because of the diversity of their Symbol in no wise Apostolic (*ob diversitatem sacramenti nullo modo apostolici*)[1]". When heresy unfurled its banner of revolt, it corrupted the Symbol of the Faith. This is what Irenæus implies when he tells us that " by no Rule of the heretics was the Word of God made flesh " (Bk 3 ; c. 11 ; 3). Or, if heretics kept the Symbol, they kept the letter and not the spirit of it. " When you tempt them [the Valentinians] subtly ", says Tertullian (*Adv. Valent.* 1), " by double-tongued ambiguity they affirm the common Faith ". St Cyprian says of the partisans of Novatian that they had indeed the same Symbol, but not " the same law of the Symbol ", as Catholics (Ep. 69, 7).

Marcion appears to have openly " innovated upon the Rule of Faith ", as Tertullian puts it in a passage to be cited later on, while Valentinus kept it to the Church's ear but broke it to her hopes. Irenæus, indeed, tells us as much (*Adv. Haer.*, Bk 4 ; c. 33 ; nn. 2, 3). Marcion, he says, held that " there are two Gods, by an infinite distance separated one from the other (n. 2). On the other hand, those who belong to Valentinus . . . while with tongue they confess one God the Father, and all things of Him, they nevertheless say that this Maker of all things is Himself the fruit of defection or decay ; and, in like manner, confessing with their tongue one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, while yet in their doctrine they allow one special emanation to the Only Begotten, another to the Word, one to the Christ, another to the Saviour

[1] *De Praesc.*, c. 32.

. . . their tongues alone tend toward unity . . . But they shall be accused by a prophet of their own, even Homer . . . whose words are, For he is hateful to me even as the gates of hell who hides one thing in his heart and utters another" (n. 3).

VII

The Fundamental Law.—To Tertullian the Symbol is "lex fidei", the law and norm of Faith. When we "enter the water", he says, "and profess the Christian Faith in the words of its law (*christianam fidem in verba suae legis profitemur*), we testify with our lips that we have renounced the devil, his pomp, and his angels[1]". He can no more conceive of the Church without her Symbol than he can conceive of civil society without its fundamental law. And as Christ Himself is the Founder of the Church, which rests on Faith, so, according to Tertullian, Christ, the Author and Finisher of the Faith, is the Author of the Symbol also. This does not prevent him from holding at the same time and affirming that the Apostles are the authors of the Symbol. Christ is the Founder of the Church, yet the Apostles also are her founders. Christ laid the foundation, the Apostles built upon it; "For no one can lay another foundation but that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus" (1 *Cor.* 3 : 11). So Christ laid the foundation of the Symbol, the Trinitarian Formula, and the Apostles built upon it. In short, we may say of the Church, her Symbol, and her Sacraments that Christ laid the foundations and gave specific directions how the work should be done;

[1] *De Spect.*, 4.

the Apostles did but build upon the foundations laid by Him, and faithfully carry out His directions.

VIII

Evidence Subjective and Objective.—Any one who keeps these distinctions in view will see how Tertullian can say that "this Rule", *i.e.*, the Symbol, "was instituted by Christ[1]", while affirming also that the Apostles were "the authors" of it[2]. McGiffert (p. 64) says that in this latter passage "the word regula evidently refers, not to any definite creed or symbol, but to the gospel preached by both" the Twelve and St Paul. The adverb "evidently" is used here in a purely subjective sense. The objective evidence is all the other way. Here is a literal translation of the passage:

"Even if Marcion had brought in his Gospel in Paul's own name, the document by itself alone (*singularitas Instrumenti*) would not be enough to win our belief, without the support of those going before. For there would be required the Gospel which Paul found, in which he believed, and with which he presently rejoiced to find his own in agreement. And in fact, for this reason he went up to Jerusalem to make the acquaintance of the Apostles and to consult with them, lest perhaps he had run in vain (*Gal.* 2: 1), that is, lest his faith and his preaching should not be in accordance with theirs. In fine, he conferred and agreed as with its authors about the Rule of Faith; they gave him the right hand of fellowship, and thereupon apportioned the task of

[1] *De Praesc.*, c. 14.

[2] *Adv. Marc.*, iv, 2. At page 49, Burn says: "He (Tertullian) traces its (the Symbol's) origin in the teaching of Christ, without showing any acquaintance with the later legend (*sic*) of its composition by the apostles". This does not indicate any wide or careful reading of Tertullian on the author's part.

preaching, they going unto the Jews and Paul going unto the Jews and Gentiles".

IX

The Rule of Faith.—Marcion rejected the Gospel of Matthew, of Mark, and of John. He received the Gospel of Luke, but only to mutilate it. Tertullian argues that, as St Paul had to get the Gospel which he preached accredited by the older Apostles, much more would the Gospel written by Paul's disciple, Luke, need to be accredited by them. There are several reasons why *regula fidei* in this passage can mean only the Symbol. (1) The context seems to exclude any other meaning. In the preceding sentence Tertullian says that St Paul consulted with the Apostles about "his faith and his preaching", *i.e.*, the Gospel that he preached. Is it at all likely that a writer who is scarce less niggard of his words than Tacitus would repeat the same thing in the very next sentence? But this is just what he did if we understand *regula fidei*, with McGiffert, to mean "gospel". The fact seems to be that Tertullian wants Marcion (or rather his disciples) to understand that St Paul, and therefore St Luke, too, not only preached the same Gospel as the Twelve, but also followed the Symbol of Faith which the Twelve had delivered to the Church, "every clause" of it as he says elsewhere[1].

(2) The Gospel is not a Rule of Faith, and is not therefore the *regula fidei* spoken of by Tertullian in this passage. The Gospel is the whole revelation of God in Christ, the *res credenda* or body of truths to be

[1] *De Praesc.*, c. 27.

believed, not the *lex credendi*, or rule of belief. The Symbol, on the other hand, is a *lex credendi* or *regula fidei*, first because it embodies just such and so many Gospel truths as the law of Christ, promulgated by the Apostles, makes it obligatory on all Christians to believe explicitly and profess; secondly, because it serves as the "rule" or standard of orthodoxy in the Christian Church.

(3) McGiffert makes it abundantly evident that "regula" is not always used by Tertullian of a definite creed. In the passage that we are now dealing with, however, the expression is, not "regula", but "regula fidei". Now, I make bold to affirm two things, first, that Tertullian nowhere else speaks of the Gospel as "regula fidei", and second, that wherever else he uses "regula fidei" it denotes, if not the Creed (which it does in every case but one), at least a creed or formulary of faith. The proof of this latter statement involves, as is obvious, the proof of the former. The expression "regula fidei" occurs twice in *De Praesc.* (Chaps. 12 and 13), once in *Adv. Prax.* (c. 3), once in *De Virg. Vel.* (c. 1), once in *De Monogamia* (c. 2), once in *Adv. Marcionem* (IV, n. 36), once in *De Jejunio* (c. 1), and lastly in the passage under consideration (*Adv. Marc.* IV. 2). If it occurs anywhere else, I at least have been unable to find it. Well, in the first six cases it stands for the Symbol; in the seventh, for a symbol or creed. In the sixth place (*Adv. Marc.* IV. 36), "reward" is coupled with "rule" of the faith. But the allusion to the "Virgin" and her descent from David (whence our Lord is the "Son of David") in the very next sentence, suggests at once the "Virgin" of the Creed. In the seventh place (*De Jejunio*), the

words are, "rule of faith or hope". He says that Montanus and Priscilla and Maximilla do not "preach another God [as Marcion did], nor divide Jesus Christ (1 *Jo.* 4 : 3), nor overturn any rule of faith or hope, but teach forsooth that we should fast oftener than marry". (This is sarcastic ; Tertullian is by this time a Montanist, and here defends their tenets). The reference is to "a symbol" (*aliquam regulam*), not to the Symbol. But even here "regula fidei" denotes at least a creed or formulary of faith; it certainly does not denote the Gospel. Our conclusion, therefore, stands that "regula fidei" in *Adv. Marcionem* IV., 2, means the Symbol, and that Tertullian ascribes the authorship of it to the Twelve.

X

Meaning of "Regula."—With Tertullian "regula fidei" is the Creed. He often calls it "regula" for short. But "regula" has also other meanings. Whether it signifies the Creed in a given case, therefore, is to be gathered from the text of the passage and the context. There is a passage in *Adv. Marc.* 1. 20 which Kattenbusch cites in support of his thesis that the Old Roman Creed was drawn up before Marcion's time. It runs: "They [his disciples] say that Marcion did not so much innovate upon the Rule, by his severance of the Gospel from the Law, as restore the Rule that had been adulterated in the time going before". McGiffert takes issue with Kattenbusch here ; he has to prove the latter's reading of the passage wrong, or the theory that he has been at so much pains to prop up collapses utterly. He succeeds, indeed, in showing that "regulam", of itself, need

not mean the Symbol here, but he fails completely to find any other meaning for it that will fit. He tells us that "an examination of the context makes it evident that he [Tertullian] is thinking not of a creed but rather of the Canon of Scripture". Here, again, the word "evident" has no objective value. On the contrary, it is evident, or rather clearly demonstrable, that Tertullian is thinking of the Creed, not of the Canon of Scripture. This embraced, first of all, the books of the Old Testament, and these Marcion rejected every one. How, then, could his disciples say that he had not so much innovated upon this Rule as restored it to its pristine form, when all the world knew that the books of the Old Testament were in the Canon centuries before a word of the First Gospel was written? On the other hand, there was, properly speaking, no Canon of the New Testament, in Tertullian's time, which could be appealed to as a "regula". Nor would Tertullian, in any case, admit the Scripture, or any part of it, as his "regula".

The context shows that "regula", in this passage, means the Gospel. But it does not mean the Gospel as preached by the Apostles, for thus the Gospel, instead of being a "rule", is itself, as has been already pointed out, subject matter of the "rule". "Faith", says Tertullian himself, "is set in a Rule—*Fides in regula posita est*[1]". Moreover, a rule, from the nature of the case, must be something that is available for everyday use. But how could the preaching of the Apostles be made use of in this way, or even be known to the faithful of the post-apostolic age? There was only one way in which they could know it

[1] *De Praesc.*, c. 14.

—aside from the New Testament, which Tertullian does not acknowledge as his "regula"—and that was Apostolic Tradition. Now the whole preaching of the Apostles did not come down through this channel, at least in a fixed and compact form that would serve as a Rule of Faith. But the gist of it, set forth in terms of the Apostles' own choosing, came down in the "summary of sound words" (2 *Tim.* 1 : 13) known as the Symbol. This it is that St Clement of Alexandria describes as "the knowledge, in a brief and compendious form, of those things that are necessary to be known[1] . . ." "For this", says Irenæus, and his words are wholly to our purpose, "is the essence (ἐπιλογὴ) of the Apostolic doctrine and of the most holy Faith which was delivered to us, which the unlettered receive, and men of small learning taught, who give not heed to endless genealogies, but rather give diligence for the amendment of their life, lest they, deprived of the Divine Spirit, miss of the Kingdom of Heaven[2]". This, then, as Kattenbusch rightly inferred, is that "regulam" which Marcion innovated upon—the "regulam" which proclaims one "God the Father Almighty, and Christ Jesus, His only Son, our Lord". For this was the head and front of Marcion's offending against the Faith, that he declared Christ was not the Son of the Father Almighty "shamelessly blaspheming", says Irenæus[3], "Him who is declared God by the Law and the Prophets; affirming Him to be an evil-doer, and fond of wars, and inconstant also in His judgment,

[1] *Paed.*, l. 6; c. 10.

[2] Works (translation by Keble) *Frag.* XXXV, p. 554. Apropos of ἐπιλογὴ rendered "essence", Keble says: "As the verb is used of picked men, I have ventured to translate the noun thus, as though the very choice part". And certainly the "medulla Fidei", the very marrow of the Faith is contained in the Symbol. [3] *Ibid.*, Bk 1; c. 27; n. 2.

and contrary to Himself; and as for Jesus, that He came from that Father who is above the God who made the world, into Judea in the time of Pontius Pilate the Governor, Tiberius Cæsar's Procurator, and was manifest in human form to the inhabitants of Judea, to do away the Prophets and the Law and all the works of that God who made the world, whom he also calls Ruler of the world (Cosmocratorem)".

XI

A Guess.—The Marcionites seem to have affirmed (*aiunt*) what historical criticism affirms to-day, though for a different reason, that the primitive Creed was the simplest of simple formularies, being but a profession of belief in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in the very words of the commission given by our Lord to the Apostles (*Matt.* 28 : 19), without addition of any sort. Such a Creed would have lent itself admirably to Marcion's purpose, who might have maintained with some degree of plausibility that it was Christ's own Creed, that παντοκράτορα of the first article was an unwarranted addition, and therefore that he did not so much innovate upon the Rule of Faith as restore it to its simple and pristine form. This guess (it purports to be no more) is strongly supported by the context. For Tertullian goes on to say that the disciples of Marcion "point to the fact that Peter and the other pillars of the Apostolate were brought to book by Paul (*Gal.* 2) because they did not walk the straight way of truth in the Gospel". For Marcion, be it borne in mind, maintained that St Paul was with him in severing the Gospel from the Law, and, with a view of making

good his contention, mutilated Paul's Epistles, as Irenæus bears witness, "by taking out whatever is plainly spoken by the Apostle of the God who made the world, how that He is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and whatsoever out of the prophetic writings the Apostle hath quoted in his teaching as predictive of the coming of the Lord[1]".

XII

Converted into a Certainty.—Tertullian shows that the passage in *Gal.* 2, cited by the Marcionites, does not bear them out. The issue between Paul and the other Apostles, he observes, turned on a point of discipline merely; "the faith in the Creator and His Christ was never in question. For, had this been in question, it would figure prominently in the writings of the Apostle (Paul)[2]". He then clinches his case with an argument that converts the guess with which we have started out into a certainty, and once more reveals the firm persuasion of the Christians of that day that the Symbol had been handed down from the Apostles. Here are his words:

"Now, if after the time of the Apostles the truth got adulterated in respect of the rule of God, then Apostolic tradition in the time of the Apostles themselves was still incorrupt touching this Rule; and no tradition can be admitted as Apostolic save that which is set forth to-day in the Apostolic Churches. But you will find no Church of Apostolic rating that does not christen in the Creator (*quae non in Creatore christianizet*). Or, if the Apostolic Churches were corrupt from the beginning, where shall sound ones be found? Those opposed to the Creator,

[1] Bk 1, c. 27, n. 2. [2] *Adv. Marc.*, l. 1, c. 21.

forsooth? Produce, then a Church of yours that is rated as Apostolic, and you will have made out your case. [This the Marcionite could not do]. Since, then, it is in every way clear that there was no other God but the Creator in the Rule of that sacrament (*in regula sacramenti istius*) from the time of Christ to the time of Marcion, our position is now made secure enough: we have shown that the belief in the God of the heretic [Marcion] dates from the severance [by Marcion] of the Gospel from the Law".

How could it be shown that no Church of Apostolic rating, as Tertullian words it, was to be found which did not make Christians in the Creator? Not by the πατρὸς of the Baptismal Formula, which Marcion could interpret in his own sense, but by the πατέρα παντοκράτορα of what Tertullian here calls the "Rule of the Sacrament", *i.e.* the Baptismal Creed. And this Rule Tertullian proves by the tradition of the Apostolic Churches to have existed, speaking broadly, "from the time of Christ".

To sum up Tertullian's argument. The Marcionites maintain (*aiunt*) that their founder did not tamper with the Rule of Faith, but rather restored to its pristine form the Rule which the Twelve had tampered with. For proof they point to the passage in *Gal.* 2. Tertullian shows that the dispute referred to in this passage concerned discipline merely, and that St Paul preached the same doctrine as the Twelve. He next shows that this doctrine was anti-Marcionite. How does he do this? By means of the Apostolic Symbol. All the Apostolic Churches "make Christians in the Creator," a fact which is attested by the Symbol or "Rule of the Sacrament", and only by the Symbol. His adversaries might still maintain, however, that "after the time of the Apos-

tles the truth got adulterated in respect of the Rule of God." But surely not in all the Apostolic Churches, is Tertullian's answer (though not very clearly expressed), else has the truth perished from the face of the earth. Either the Apostolic Churches hold the true Faith, or there is no true Faith to be found anywhere. If the Marcionites could point to even one Apostolic Church which made Christians in God or in the Father simply, and not in the Father Almighty, Tertullian would be willing to grant that they had gone some way toward making out their case. " But since it is clear that there was no other God but the Creator in the Rule of the Sacrament from the time of Christ to the time of Marcion ", he feels that the bottom has been clean knocked out of the Marcionite contention.

When St Justin says that the Christian " received the washing with water in the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe " (*Apol.*, 1, n. 61), he, too, is citing the Baptismal Creed, not the Baptismal Formula, and bearing witness to the truth of Tertullian's saying that all the Apostolic Churches " christened in the Creator ".

CHAPTER VII

THE SYMBOL IN THE SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE

I

A Passage in Pliny.—Before going to the New Testament for traces of the Symbol, it may be worth our while to look into a passage that is to be found in the pages of a pagan writer of the sub-apostolic age. Pliny the Younger, who became Governor of Bithynia in Asia Minor, in the first decade of the second century, has this to say of the Christians in a letter to the Emperor Trajan:

"They declared this to be the sum of their wrong-doing or error, that they were wont to gather before dawn on a given day and say with one another a form of words to Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves by oath . . . not to commit theft, or robbery, or adultery; not to break their word, and not to deny (or give up) what was committed to their keeping, when summoned (before the courts)"[1].

Newman (*Development of Christian Doctrine*, Ch. VI, sect. 1, n. 18) cites "How doth this chief sorcerer mock us, skilled by his Thessalian charm (*carmine*) to laugh at punishment[2]" as illustrating the force of *carmen* in this passage. *Carmen* also means a formula in religion or in law, as, "*diro quodam carmine jurare*",

[1] Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summan vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent.—Epist. LXXXIII inter Epist. C. Plinii Trajano Imperatori. [2] Prud. in hon. Rom. V, 404, 868.

Liv. 10. 38. 10; "*legationis carmen recitare*", *Id.* 3. 64. 10. It is difficult to conceive of anything that fits the *carmen dicere Christo quasi deo secum invicem* of Pliny better than the recitation of the Symbol in the assemblies of the faithful as it is done, in alternate parts, to this day. No other ancient formulary has made its way down from those early days which has a place in the Christian worship and is at the same time a distinct profession of faith in Christ as God. Schaff, in his *Creeds of Christendom*[1], says that the Apostles' Creed is "a liturgical poem and an act of worship", and so it is, and so it has been from the first. In the fifth century Faustus speaks of it as *symboli salutare carmen*[2] and again calls it *cœlestis sapientiae vitale carmen*[3].

Pliny, in his letter to Trajan, asks how he is to deal with the Christians in his jurisdiction. On various occasions already he has had some of them before his tribunal, and the evidence they gave is under his eyes, or at any rate, fresh in his mind, as he writes. It is but natural, therefore, to conclude that what they had to say for themselves, as set forth in the passage cited above, is given in their own words. The reader will note the expressions "fidem fallerent" and "depositum abnegarent". The former of the two has an obvious classical sense. But it does seem likely that it bore a deeper meaning for men who were willing at all times, as Pliny himself bears witness in this letter, to lay down their lives rather than prove false to the "Faith once delivered to the saints". There would have been little reason for swearing that they would not break their word, much for swearing that they would be true to the Faith.

[1] Vol. I, p. 15. [2] *De Spir.*, I, 1. [3] *Hom.* 1, *de Symbolo.*

II

Guarding the Deposit.—The second of the two expressions is even more significant. It might seem at first that the clause " ne depositum appellati abnegarent " is to be construed to mean no more than this, that Christians took an oath " not to refuse to give up what was committed to them in trust when called upon " to do so. This is how the annotator of the edition of *Pliny's Letters* that lies before me interprets the clause, for he comments, " A frequent temptation, on account of the want of securities ". But had this been the meaning intended, we should have " appellanti ", not " appellati ". "Abnegare " takes a dative of the person from whom the thing is withheld, as " Rex tibi conjugium abnegat[1] ". "Appellati ", in the context of the passage before us, can mean only " when summoned before the courts ", or " informed against ", which comes to the same thing. Now it would be absurd for any one to swear that he would give up the thing committed to him in trust on being cited before the courts, when he could not choose but give it up, the law compelling him. Hence the word " depositum " must bear a special meaning in the present instance.

The meaning that it bears is not far to seek. We have seen how St Gregory Nazianzen refers to the Symbol as " that excellent Deposit of the fathers that were nearest to Christ ". We read how one of these " fathers " bids his disciple, " Guard the good deposit committed to thy trust, by the Holy Ghost who abideth in us " (2 *Tim.* 1 : 13). The words of the

[1] Virgil.

Apostle find an echo in Justin Martyr. The same word φυλάσσω is used to express what we render in English "guard", but instead of "deposit" St Justin has "Confession". "With guarding", he writes, "the Confession in the Christ of God."[1] So, too, St Clement of Alexandria, in a passage already cited, considers it, "the mark of a soul that loves to guard", not the "Deposit", nor the "Confession", but what is another name for the same thing, "the blessed Tradition, so that it may not escape[2]".

III

"**Abnegare.**"—The verb "abnegare", which, during the classical period of the language, is found only in the poets, is but a strengthened form of "negare" as used by them. In post-Augustine prose it is used in the sense of "renouncing" or "giving over". The Latin of the old *Versio Itala*, which the Vulgate largely conserves, belongs to this period. In *Tit.* 2 : 12, ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν of the original text appears in the Vulgate as "abnegantes impietatem", which is more correctly rendered "renouncing" or "giving up" than "denying ungodliness", as in our English versions[3]. This is also the meaning "abnegare" has in a well known passage of the thirty-eighth homily of St Gregory the Great, on *Matt.* 16 : "Minus quippe est abnegare quod habet ; valde, autem, multum est abnegare quod est—It is a little thing to give up what one has, but a very great thing to give up what one is". It would appear,

[1] *Dial.* 47. [2] *Strom.*, l. 1.

[3] Cf. *Robinson's Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament*, ἀρνέομαι, (2 b).

therefore, that the clause " ne depositum appellati abnegarent " may mean either " not to give up the deposit ", or " not to renounce that which was committed to their keeping, when cited (before the tribunal) ". In the former case, " depositum " would signify the Symbol of the Faith ; in the latter, the Faith itself.

IV

The Oath of the Catechumen.—Now this is precisely what catechumens bound themselves to do on the day of their baptism. They bound themselves to hold fast " the Faith in God, the Confession in Him who suffered ", as Clement of Alexandria expresses it ; in other words, " not to betray the Faith, not to give up the Symbol ", but to guard sacredly the " blessed tradition, lest it should escape ". The " word " which they as Christians pledged themselves to keep, or, " not to break ", was not their word but *the* word (ὁ λόγος), the " summary of sound words " (2 *Tim.* 1 : 13) which contained the whole Gospel as in a nutshell, the Symbol of the Apostles, " the Faith once delivered to the saints ". This we know from other sources. And what is even more to the purpose, bearing out as it does the interpretation put upon the passage in Pliny, we know that it was customary with the early Christians to take an oath to guard their Baptismal Symbol. The custom still survived in the early part of the fourth century as appears from the words of St Hilary in *Ad Constantium* I. 2, n. 4, where he speaks of " confessing under oath in baptism the Faith *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost* ". A passage from

Zahn, bearing on this same point, which Burn introduces with some words of his own[1], must be cited entire. It goes even beyond our immediate purpose, serving not only to prove the existence of the custom above referred to, but also to discredit Professor McGiffert's theory that it was "over against" the errors of Marcion the Old Roman Creed was framed[2]. Here are the words of Zahn as reproduced by Burn:

"In the one passage of the New Testament, as revised by Marcion, we find the mysterious passage, *Gal.* iv. 24, remodelled by the addition of words from *Eph.* i. 21, and others. We read there about the two covenants: 'The one, from Mount Sinai, which is the synagogue of the Jews after the law, begotten into bondage; the other, which is exalted above all might, majesty, and power, and over every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; which (covenant) is the mother of us all, which begets us in the holy Church, which we have acknowledged (or to which we have vowed allegiance). Marcion does not say, or rather does not allow the apostle to say, 'which we acknowledge', but he looks back to the confession and the oath taken once for all with reference to 'the holy Church'. The word used here, 'repromittere', ἐπαγγελλέσαι, describes such an oath, and had been used earlier by Ignatius of the oath taken on the confession of the Christian faith . . . Marcion thought much of the Church as he understood her, and considered the Christian relation to her a very close one. . . . As far as I can see, it follows from the passage quoted from his Epistle to the Galatians that the words 'a holy Church' were contained in Marcion's Baptismal Confession, and therefore in the Roman Creed of A.D. 145". (Zahn, p 32, ff.).

[1] *An Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 57.
[2] *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 13 and *passim*.

V

The Old Roman Creed.—It remains but to give what appear to be the very words of the oath taken by the early Christians on the Symbol when Mother Church begot them in baptism, whom she fed on "milk", "the first elements of the oracles of God", as having "need of" it, "and not of strong food" (*Heb.* 5 : 12). I am again indebted to Burn for these words, who in his turn cites them from Caspari. The passage in Burn runs :

"Caspari, indeed, quotes the oath found in that epistle (c. 58. 2) : ζῇ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ζῇ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἥ τε πίστις καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν[1], where the words ἡ πίστις stand in apposition to the preceding sentence. He compares with it Jerome against John of Jerusalem (c. 28). "In symbolo fidei et spei nostrae . . . omne dogmatis christianae sacramentum carnis resurrectione concluditur". Then he asks whether these words do not point to the neighbourhood where the Old Roman Creed was composed[2].

Rather do they point to the Old Roman Creed itself. For, as Irenæus tells us, "In the time of this Clement no small tumult having arisen among the brethren which were in Corinth, the Church in Rome wrote a most effective letter to the Corinthians, urging them to be at peace with one another, and renewing their faith, and [setting forth] the tradition which it had recently received from the Apostles, which tradition proclaims one God Almighty, Maker

[1] "As God lives and the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, the Faith and Hope of the elect".

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

of Heaven and Earth[1]". The phrase " pointing to " might, with advantage to the meaning, take the place of " setting forth " supplied by Keble. Nowhere in Clement's first Epistle is " the tradition recently received from the Apostles, which tradition proclaims one God Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth ", set forth. But there is a distinct allusion to it in the words of the oath cited above, and again (c. 7. 2) where Clement calls it the glorious and venerable rule (κανόνα) of our tradition (παραδόσεως *al* κλήσεως) " calling," and adds significantly : " Let us see what is good and pleasing in the eyes of Him who made us ", to wit, " the Father Almighty " of the Symbol.

[1] *Adv. Haer.*, l. 3, c. 3, n. 3 (as in Keble's translation).

CHAPTER VIII

THE KERYGMA AND THE SYMBOL

I

The Rule of Faith.—The more recent writers on the Creed assume Tertullian's "Rule of Faith" and Irenæus's "Rule of Truth", (which he, too, in one place names the "Rule of Faith")[1] to be identical with the Apostolic Symbol. It is true that Harnack tries to show that the Rule of Irenæus was not at all a Baptismal Creed; that it was drawn up independently by Irenæus himself. But this opinion of Harnack's, singular in every sense of the word, has been shown elsewhere to be untenable[2]. One who should read only the later works on the Creed would not even know that there ever has been question at any time of the "Rule of Faith" being other than the Symbol. But the Catholic Probst and the Anglican Swainson have maintained that the two are not identical. And Dr. Gasquet, in an article contributed to *The Dublin Review* for October, 1888, deems their arguments "conclusive[3]". At the same time he holds that "the distinction between the Creed and the Rule of Faith must not be too strongly pressed". The fact that the later critics simply overlook these arguments seems to imply that they attach little weight to them.

[1] *Adv. Haer.*, Bk 1, c. 22, n. 1. [2] Cf. Chap III. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

II

Not a Definite Formulary.—We are told that the Creed and the Rule of Faith "are clearly distinguished by Clement of Alexandria". Let us first of all try to get a right understanding of this matter. When it is said that the Creed and the Rule of Faith are distinct, the implication is that the latter, too, is a definite formulary. Swainson in fact speaks of both the one and the other as "documents[1]", though all Christian Antiquity attests that the Creed was not a "document" at all from the first, but an oral confession of the Faith. If by the "Rule of Faith" we understand, not a definite formulary, but Apostolic Tradition, or the teaching of the Church or the Fathers, or the exposition of the Creed given orally by those intrusted with the task of preparing candidates for baptism, the distinction between the Symbol and the Rule of Faith is freely granted. But then it is a perfectly futile distinction. No one would dream of identifying the Symbol with Apostolic Tradition, of which it is but a small, though exceedingly important part, or with the preaching of the Church and teaching of her doctors, of which it is but the briefest kind of summary.

III

A Plentiful Lack of Clearness.—As regards Clement of Alexandria, the only thing that really is clear in his works touching this question of the Creed is a plentiful lack of clearness. He is vague and obscure of set purpose. Whatever else he makes a mystery of, of this he makes none. Over and over again he

[1] *The Nicene and Apostles' Creed*, p. 9.

warns the reader that it is only "to him who is capable of receiving in secret the things traditionally delivered that that which is concealed shall be made known[1]". Clement shows himself ever most careful not "to commit to writing things which", as he says a little further on, "we are on our guard even to speak about". He does in one place, after making a distinct reference to the Baptismal Creed as τὴν ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς—"the Confession that we have"—go on to mention "the ecclesiastical rule, and especially that profession which is made about things of supreme importance[2]". That "profession" (ὁμολογίαν) is again the Creed. What "the ecclesiastical rule" is we can only guess. But as he speaks in the preceding sentence of the duty of "the good man not to lie, and not to go back on what he has promised", where the context implies an allusion to the baptismal vows, we may infer that "the ecclesiastical rule" which it is the duty of the Christian not to transgress is the whole obligation taken in baptism, which binds the neophyte, among other things, especially to keep the Confession of the Faith. For the rest, so effectually has St Clement concealed the mysteries from the uninitiated that Harnack is in doubt whether the Saint does or "does not in one place assume the existence of a fixed symbol", and says that, in either case, "there is no art that can discover how this symbol ran[3]".

IV

St Cyprian's Rule.—St Cyprian is said to distinguish "even more explicitly" than St Clement between the

[1] *Strom.*, l. 1, c. 1. [2] *Strom.*, VII, c. 15, n. 90. [3] *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 67.

Creed and the Rule of Faith. If it could be shown from other sources that there existed in Cyprian's time a doctrinal formulary akin to the Creed but distinct from it, his "lex", in one instance, might perhaps be taken to mean this formulary. As it is, the assumption that it does mean a formulary at all is founded on nothing better than a guess. Cyprian says that "we and the schismatics (Novatian) have not one law of the Symbol, nor the same interrogation[1]". But the Symbol itself in Cyprian's time was known as the "law" and "rule" of the Faith. So Tertullian, in the earlier part of the third century, always calls it, and if any man can be said to have known Tertullian by heart, that man's name is Cyprian. Now, what a law needs to apply it is not another law but authentic interpretation, and this seems to be the force of "symboli legem" in Cyprian. "For when they ask", he goes on to say, "Dost thou believe in the remission of sins and eternal life through the holy Church? they lie in the interrogation itself, seeing that they have not the Church". Yet, plain it is that they had the Church, as to the letter. But "holy Church" meant one thing to them and quite another thing to Catholics. In other words, they differed from Catholics, not in the letter of the Symbol, but in the interpretation of it.

In the earlier part of this same paragraph, Cyprian distinguishes between "law" and "symbol," where he states the objection that "Novatian holds the same law which the Catholic Church holds, and baptizes with the same symbol that we do". But who can say for certain what "law" means here? It may mean the whole discipline of the Church regarding

[1] *Ad Magnum*, c. 7.

baptism and its administration, or it may mean the same as "law of the symbol" above referred to—or it may bear any one of several other possible meanings. "I conceive", are the words of Swainson, "the first word 'law' represents what Tertullian calls the rule of faith" (p. 43). Now, everybody to-day takes Tertullian's Rule of Faith to be the Symbol. When men leave the beaten path of Catholic tradition, and try to make their way by the feeble and fitful light of reason, they do but grope about in the dark and guess at the truth. The ground to be gone over in the quest of the Symbol is very uncertain and difficult ground. With Faith to light one's steps, and by following the footprints of Tradition, one may hope to find one's way. Without such help as this, one is as apt to go astray as is the traveller who has to make his way at night and alone in a trackless wilderness.

V

Light and Darkness.—St Cyril of Jerusalem and St Isidore are said to be "decisive witnesses" to the distinction in question. Of St Cyril and his witness I am not in a position to say anything. But perhaps it will not be unfair to judge his testimony by that of the Saint who is bracketed with him. Swainson cites St Isidore "to show that early in the seventh century a distinction was made between the Symbol and a Rule of Faith", and then passes on to the consideration of his subject, the origin of the Creed, to wit, "with the assistance of the light which" the said distinction "pours forth" (p. 10). But if the light be darkness, how great is the darkness! It is

clear from St Isidore's words and the description he gives of the so-called "Rule of Faith", that it is not at all a definite formulary[1]. In fact it is more than doubtful whether the title of the chapter in which he treats of it, "De Regula Fidei", is the Saint's own: it is more likely the editor's. St Isidore himself speaks of what he calls "after the Symbol of the Apostles, the most certain faith which our doctors have handed on", and at the end says: "This is the Catholic tradition of the Faith in its true integrity". A glance at the contents of this chapter is enough to show that what St Isidore presents is a summary of the traditional teaching of the Church as set forth by the Fathers, and especially by St Augustine. Among the items of this "most certain faith" we find, "And that the origin of the soul is uncertain". St Augustine had so ruled it in his day[2]. Again, "That no one by his own unaided power is incorporated in Christ", where we recognize once more St Augustine's teaching against the Pelagians. In short, nothing can be plainer than that St Isidore's "most certain faith" was not at all a definite formulary. Nor does it bear any but the remotest resemblance to the "Kerygma" of Origen, and the "Rule of Faith" to which Tertullian and Irenæus so often appeal.

VI

A Case of *Felo de Se*.—We are further told that, "The Rule of Faith, as St Irenæus says, (IV, 26, 4)

[1] *De Eccl. Officiis*, c. 24 (Migne, tome 83, cols. 817, 818, 819, 820).

[2] Cf. *Ep.* 153, al. 7 (Op. Aug., tome 2), where the Saint speaks of the origin of the soul as "involved in densest darkness" (n. 7), though he affirms the soul to be a created thing and immortal (*ibid.*).

was committed to the Bishop; while the Creed was intended for the laity[1]". Turning to the passage in Irenæus to which the reference is given, we find what the Saint says to be that "those who have Church succession from the Apostles . . . both guard that Faith of ours, the object of which is one God who made all things; and increase that love which points to the Son of God . . . and expound to us the Scriptures without any danger". If one brings to the reading of this passage a mind imbued with the preconceived idea that there is a distinction between the Creed and the Kerygma or Rule of Faith, he may possibly find evidence in it of the truth of the statement cited above. Otherwise he will discern in "that Faith of ours, the object of which is one God who made all things", a plain allusion to the Symbol, of which we have here the first article. But the whole matter may be cut short by a *reductio ad absurdum* of the argument for the alleged distinction. On the preceding page[2], it is said: "They—St Irenæus, Tertullian, and Novatian—use a term for the Kerygma which we do not find in Scripture; κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, 'Regula fidei' or 'veritatis'. But in comparing the passages I refer to, it will be seen that the same thing is intended by all these different phrases". Now, St Irenæus tells us expressly that the Christian "receives by his baptism the unchangeable Rule of Faith[3]". If, then, the Symbol and Rule of Faith were not one and the same, and if it were to the Bishop only the latter was committed, it would follow that only Bishops were baptized in the early Church. Understand what you

[1] *The Dublin Review*, Oct. 1888, p. 280.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 279. [3] Bk. 1; c. 9; n. 4.

will by κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, it is certain, if Irenæus is a trustworthy witness, that baptism bestowed it on believers, on laymen, priests and bishops. "And neither he who is altogether mighty in speech among those who preside in our Churches, will utter anything different from this; nor will he who is weak in discourse abate aught of the Tradition[1]". And again. "This Faith such as have believed without letters, in our discourse indeed are barbarians . . . but because of their faith are extremely wise, and please God . . . And if any one should tell them of the inventions of the heretics, conversing in their language, presently they would shut their ears, and think they could not fly far enough, not enduring so much as to hear the blasphemous talk. Thus by that old Tradition Apostolic, they admit not even to a passing glance of the mind any of their monstrous sayings[2]". What is this "old Tradition Apostolic"? It is the Rule of Truth—"this rule" to which "consent many nations of the barbarians, those I mean who believe in Christ, having salvation written by the Spirit in their hearts, without paper and ink, and diligently keeping the old Tradition: who believe in one God the Framer of Heaven and Earth and of all things that are in them, by Christ Jesus the Son of God. Who for His surpassing love's sake towards His creatures, submitted to the birth which was to be of the Virgin, Himself by Himself uniting Man to God; who suffered also under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, and being received in brightness, will come in glory as the Saviour of them that are saved, and the Judge of them that are judged, and to send into eternal fire them that counterfeit the truth and despise

[1] Bk 1; c. 10; n. 2. [2] Bk 3; c. 4; n. 2.

His Father and His coming[1]". These passages serve to discredit the distinction between a "Rule of Faith" alleged to be committed to the Bishop alone, and a Creed intended for the laity, wherein were not contained "the strictly theological portions of the former which were directed against heresy". Irenæus himself disowns the distinction, delivering the "rule" to men who receive it "without letters" and use it to some purpose, as he makes plain to us, against heresy.

VII

The Rule and Symbol One.—Justly have the later critics concluded that the "Rule" of Irenæus and Tertullian is the "Symbol" of Rufinus and Augustine, which the latter also calls a "Rule". In form only do they differ; in substance and meaning they are the same. Either the "Rule of Faith" is another name for the Creed in Tertullian and Irenæus, or these ancient writers lay a trap for the reader into which he cannot choose but walk. If κανὼν or "rule" means one thing when committed to the keeping of the Bishop and another when delivered to the unlettered barbarian, we ought to have been warned that it does, or a different word should have been used in the one case from what is used in the other. And, then, a "canon" or "rule" is, by its very definition, fixed and unchanging in its sense and in its wording. But if you apply this test to the formularies and fragments of formularies set forth in Irenæus and Tertullian, you will find not one canon or rule but many canons and many rules. And yet both Irenæus and

[1] *Ibid.*

Tertullian emphatically declare their "Rule" to be "one" and "unchangeable". There is just one way out of this tangle, but they have strayed far from that way who make confusion worse confounded by introducing a "Kerygma" or "Rule of Faith", distinct from the Creed but so nearly related to it that the plain man cannot for the life of him see where the distinction comes in. The key to the whole situation is furnished by the Discipline of the Secret. Both Irenæus and Tertullian are kept back from giving us the Creed in the very phrase by the prohibition against putting it in writing and the obligation of secrecy in regard to it. Neither of them tells the reader so in terms, but this only serves to hide more effectually the words and structure of their Symbol. On any other hypothesis, the reticence of these writers and the studied care with which they vary the unvarying Rule of the Faith is an insoluble conundrum to be everlastingly given up.

VIII

Corroborative Proof.—But if "Kerygma", "Rule of Faith", and "Rule of Truth" are but different names for the same formulary, and if that formulary is the Creed or Symbol of the Apostles, the following passage, in which Dr. Gasquet sums up the observations of Probst upon the Apostolic Kerygma, furnishes strong corroborative evidence of the truth of the ancient Catholic tradition:

"We find in the Acts several expositions of Christian doctrine, in the sermons of St Peter and St Paul (*Acts* ii, iii, iv, x, xvii), all remarkably alike, and covering the same ground as the Creed. This similarity arose, no doubt, from the requirements the

Apostles had to meet. They had to testify to the Jews the Godhead, public life, death, and resurrection of our Lord, with their consequences—the resurrection and judgment of all mankind ; and to these doctrines when preaching to the heathen, St Paul had to prefix that God was the creator of heaven and earth. The similarity between these discourses extends, however, to the language and turn of the sentences, as will to some extent appear when I presently compare the Creed with the New Testament, and as can be more completely seen by reading them together ; and this fact suggests that there must have been an agreement among the Apostles as to the form as well as the matter of their teaching—an agreement reached, of course, before their dispersion. The same conclusion follows from a study of the several descriptions of the public teaching of the Church in the New Testament and Apostolic Fathers. Perhaps the most interesting is connected with the word κήρυξ and its derivatives. It was evidently adopted from the Septuagint in order to claim for Christian teachers the infallibility belonging to the inspired prophets of the Old Law. St Paul significantly connects the act of preaching with being sent, and in his own case laid the Gospel which he preached privately before the heads of the Church in Jerusalem (*Rom.* x. 14, 15 ; *Gal.* ii. 2). κῆρυξ, again, is twice used by him in a manner which implies that it had acquired a definite connotation at the time the Pastoral Epistles were written (1 *Tim.* i. 7 ; 2 *Tim.* i. 11). There is still more evidence that the word κήρυγμα gradually obtained a technical sense, in St Paul and the early Christian writers, for the defined and official teaching of the Church. This is inevitably obscured in the Latin and other versions, where ' praedicatio ', ' preaching ' has to do duty for the act of preaching as well as for the things preached, the matter of the doctrines taught by the Apostles. Probst avoids this ambiguity by using the word ' Kerygma ' wherever

it is possible to do so. When this is done, the significance of the word comes out in such passages as—'the foolishness of the Kerygma' (1 *Cor.* i. 21); 'that through me the Kerygma' might be fully proclaimed (2 *Tim.* iv. 17); 'the Kerygma wherewith I was intrusted' (*Tit.* i. 3)".

CHAPTER IX

THE SYMBOL IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

I

State of the Question.—" Many attempts have been made ", says Burn, " to extract a formal Apostles' Creed from the New Testament by comparison and combination of various passages. However ingenious, they always fail to prove more than this—that there was an outline of teaching (τύπος διδαχῆς, *Rom.* vi, 17) upon which apostolic preachers and writers were agreed ". So far as we have any means of knowing, no " formal Apostles' Creed " was ever put in writing before the time of Marcellus of Ancyra, in the fourth century. Even he does not profess to be setting forth such a formulary, though we know from other sources the one he does set forth to be such. Neither Tertullian nor Irenæus gives us a formal Apostles' Creed. Both of them witness to the existence of a Baptismal Creed in their day ; both of them trace it to an Apostolic origin ; but neither of them, as we have seen, set before us the *ipsissima verba* of this Creed, nor all the elements of it. The East is one with the West in bearing witness that the Apostles' Creed was not first given in writing, nor transmitted from one generation to another in writing, but handed on by oral tradition in a secret manner, and " graved on the fleshly tablets of the heart ".

II

An Objection Met.—Read in the light of this assured fact, the second sentence of the following passage from Burn overthrows the objection raised in the first—an objection which he styles "the final and most formidable".

"If the Creed was really written by the Apostles, how could the next generation presume to alter its wording? In every Church, not excepting the Church of Rome, later generations still permitted further alterations, consistently if they need only to desire to maintain continuity of sense, impiously if they were really bound by the letter of their law of believing".—p. 66.

As the Creed was not given in writing but orally, it is the sense that was regarded as sacrosanct, not the wording which must needs vary among the many-tongued generations of believers. The wording was important so far as it served to convey and to fix the meaning. In this point of view, which is the true one, the Nicene Symbol was Apostolic, while the Symbol of Arius, though much simpler and nearer the archetypal form aboriginally delivered, was really at variance with that formulary. It is worth while pointing out, too, that, as the Creed was handed on by oral tradition only, neither Burn nor any one else can know that the next generation after the Apostles presumed to alter its wording.

III

The Stream of Tradition.—The attempts made to extract a formal Apostles' Creed from the New Testament were all of them ill-advised and foredoomed to

failure. The only way to trace the Creed to its origin is to follow the path of the tradition by which it came down to those who first set it before us; just as the only way to find the source of golden sands washed down by a stream from the mountains is to follow upward the channel down which they have come. The Creed of the Apostles has been brought down to us by the same stream of Apostolical Tradition which has brought to us the work known as the *Acts of the Apostles*, with this difference, that the latter was conveyed openly, the former in a secret manner. The original MS. of St Luke's work perished long ages ago. It is Tradition that accredits the work as well as the fact of its inspiration. By Tradition here I mean all knowledge of the teachings, sayings, and doings of the Apostles that has come down to us outside of the books of the New Testament, whether in writing or by word of mouth.

IV

The Broad Fact of Catholicism.—In tracing the origin of the Symbol, Burn has gone, unconsciously no doubt, on the Protestant assumption that the New Testament is the one and only source of all that we know or can know of the Apostles, of what they taught, of what they said, of what they did. He therefore begins his search for the Symbol in the New Testament writings, and not finding it there, draws the conclusion that it was not as yet in existence. The inference is logical, but the conclusion is false, because the assumption of the major premise is not founded on fact. That premise ignores and leaves out of account nothing less than what Newman has called "this

broad fact of Catholicism, as real as the Continent of America or the Milky Way". The Catholic Church, the ever living Church of the living God was already organized, was already carrying on her mission, was already preaching the Gospel to the nations, was already begetting children to God in baptism, had already her Baptismal Creed, before one word of the New Testament was put in writing. "As the creeds", says an Anglican authority whose words ring truer here than Burn's, "were the earliest development of the formal faith of the Church, so they are the first and most authentic form of her oral tradition. They were learned and confessed by the candidates for baptism, and openly recited as the rule of faith, one and the same from one generation to another. The creeds subserving in this way the growth and edification of the Church, are anterior to the Gospels. There are traces of them in fact observable in Scripture[1]". All that is needed to bring this into complete harmony with Catholic truth, and with fact—an obvious fact—as well, is to write "Creed" for "creeds". The one Church, of the one God and the one Lord, having one Faith, and one Baptism, can have but the one Creed.

V

The Symbol and the Scripture.—This one and Catholic Church, then, comes down the stream of time freighted with the whole Tradition of the Truth, the Word of God in its integrity. In her hand she holds the Scripture, but in her heart the Symbol of the Faith. The Scripture she reads and expounds openly

[1] Blunt's *Theological Dictionary*, art. "Creeds".

to all men ; the Symbol, for a space, she hides from the profane, she recites not in the hearing of the stranger, she gives only to her children, and to these as a sacred trust, under oath, to be jealously guarded. Burn, and with Burn the whole school of historical criticism, have seen the Church of the first centuries bearing in her hand the Scripture, have heard her expound it, and have been present as spectators in the assemblies of the faithful until the signal was given for all those who were not initiated in the mysteries to withdraw. But they have never been privileged to witness a *Traditio* or *Redditio Symboli*, they have never heard the Symbol recited, and know no more of its existence than did those who were turned away at the same time. They can therefore no more discern a reference to the Symbol in the " good deposit " which Paul consigned to Timothy than the pagan Pliny could in the " deposit " which the Christians of Asia Minor in his day so nobly kept at the cost of their lives, what time he ordered them to be put to death for no other crime than their " unbending stubbornness ", as he calls it, in confessing " the Faith once for all delivered to the saints ".

VI

Scriptural Allusions.—But historical criticism does discern in the New Testament " an outline of teaching upon which apostolic preachers and writers were agreed ". This is quite enough for our purpose. Even the critics will be driven by the inexorable law of logical consistency to admit that this outline can be no other than our Symbol. But first let us look into some of the allusions to the Creed, veiled indeed

but unmistakable, that are to be found in the New Testament.

The " outline " in question it is that St John refers to when he bids his disciples not to receive into their houses nor give greeting to the one who " bringeth not this teaching " (2 *Jo.* 10). " Whoso ", says Polycarp, describing somewhat more fully for us " this teaching " of his master, " confesses not that Jesus Christ came in the flesh, he is Antichrist ; and whoso twists the words of the Lord after his own caprices, and says that there is to be no resurrection and no judgment, he is the firstborn of Satan. Wherefore renouncing the vain conceits of the many and their false doctrines, let us return to that word which was delivered to us from the beginning[1]". This " outline ", this " word ", was a summary of Apostolic teaching, the Gospel in a compendious and portable form, which could be " brought " and set forth by the pilgrim and the stranger, and which should serve those to whom they brought it as a test or tessera of orthodoxy. Christian Antiquity knows of no formulary that answers this description but the Symbol of the Apostles.

" Baptism ", we read in 1 *Peter* 3 : 20-22, " consisteth not in a cleansing of the impurities of the flesh, but in the examination of a good conscience toward God ". On this the Abbé Fouard remarks : " The Greek commentators explain the word ἐπερώτη by the synonyms ἐξέτασις, ἐκζήτησις, and the Vulgate translates it by ' interrogatio '. De Wette and Huther (in Meyer's Commentary) recognize the fact that this is an allusion to the Baptismal interrogation, and consequently to the Profession of Faith—the Credo—demanded of every catechumen. It is

[1] *Ep. Polyc.*, c. 7.

worthy of note that three articles of the Apostles' Creed are mentioned here by St Peter as making part of this interrogation of a good conscience before God, this interrogation which saveth us by *the Resurrection of Jesus*, Who . . . *is ascended into Heaven and sitteth at the right hand of God*[1]". One is reminded of the words of Tertullian[2], "The soul is sanctified, not by the washing, but by the response"; and again[3], "After this we are thrice dipped, answering somewhat more fully than the Lord determined in the Gospel", to wit, the Faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

In 1 *John* 5 : 5, 6, where Faith in Christ is the theme, Westcott, cited by Burn (p. 18), notes how the aorist points to the single moment of baptism. "This is the victory that overcame (ἡ νικήσασα) the world, even our faith. Who is he that overcometh (ὁ νικῶν) the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God".

VII

The Pattern of Sound Words.—In the Epistle to the Hebrews, St Paul speaks of the "first elements of the oracles of God" (5 : 12) given to those who were born again by baptism, even as "milk" is given to a "babe" (v, 13). This appears to be "the confession (τῆς ὁμολογίας)" that he had referred to in a preceding chapter (4 : 12). This "outline", which suggests the χαρακτῆρα of Irenæus and the "indicium" of Rufinus, was in the nature of a "deposit" (1 *Tim.* 6 : 21 ; 2 *Tim.* 1 : 12,

[1] *St Peter and the First Years of Christianity* (translated by G. F. X. Griffith. Longmans, 1898) p. 239, footnote.
[2] *De Resurr. Carnis.*, 48. [3] *De Cor. Mil.*, 3.

14) or sacred trust to be guarded by the faithful; a "form" or "pattern" or "summary" of "sound words" first "heard among many witnesses", and to be committed to "faithful men" who should be "fit to teach others also" (2 *Tim.* 2 : 2). On these passages of St Paul's letters to Timothy, the Anglican Blunt observes: "It is almost impossible to find any other meaning for the Apostle's words if they do not refer to such a formulary as the Creed". And the Abbé Fouard[1] points out that the word ὑποτύπωσις rendered "form" in the English version is employed by Sextus Empiricus to denote "an abridgment of a doctrine or philosophy". There are further allusions to the Creed in the writings of St Paul as well as in the other Pastoral Epistles, but enough to have cited these.

VIII

Summing up the Case.—Let us now sum up the case for the Apostolic authorship of the Symbol so far as it rests on the evidence to be found in the New Testament that has been thus far examined. There existed in the Apostolic Church an "outline of teaching", a "summary of sound words", a "confession", a "deposit", which was to be guarded with jealous care, which was closely bound up with the sacrament of baptism, which was a tessera of orthodoxy, which was committed by the Apostles to faithful men who were charged, in their turn, to hand it on to the succeeding generation of believers. A century glides away, and we find Irenæus, who is brought up in the East, and Tertullian, who is brought

[1] *Loc. cit.*

up in the West, setting forth a " doctrine ", a " tradition ", an " outline ", a " tessera ", a " Rule of Truth ", a " Rule of Faith ", which served as a Baptismal Confession in their day, and which we identify with the Old Roman or Apostles' Creed. Both of these witnesses, one of whom is the disciple of Polycarp who got the " teaching " and tessera of the Apostolic Faith from St John, assure us that the Rule of Truth and Faith which baptism bestowed on them was everywhere the same within the pale of the world-wide Church, and that it was instituted by the Apostles.

Briefly, then, the case stands thus. Historical criticism will either admit the " teaching " of St John, the " deposit " and " pattern of sound words ", and " outline of teaching ", spoken of by St Paul, to be identical with Irenæus's " outline " and " Rule of Truth ", with Tertullian's " tessera " and " Rule of Faith ", or it will not. If it will, then it acknowledges the Apostles to be the authors of the Symbol. If it will not, let it first settle its account with Irenæus and Tertullian, to whom it has given the lie, and then find for us, in the writings of the second century, the " teaching " of St John, and the " deposit " which Timothy was to keep himself and hand on to faithful men, as he had been solemnly charged to do by the Apostle. Its quest of this lost formulary is like to prove more laborious and, if that were possible, even less fruitful than its quest of the source whence came the Symbol.

IX

A Simple Parable.—Let me try by means of a simple parable to bring the matter home. *A* writes

to *B* to inform him that he is sending a parcel by *C*, who is well known to both. In due time *C* arrives with the parcel, and hands it to *B*, telling him that this is the parcel *A* had sent him. *B* jots down in his notebook the fact of his having received from *A* the parcel in question, and gives a description of its contents. In ordinary life, *X*, *Y*, *Z*, on reading the entry in *B*'s notebook, would never dream of doubting that it was correct— unless he had positive proof that *B* was a deceiver. Well, *A* is the Apostle John, *C* is Polycarp, his disciple, and *B* is Irenæus, who sat at the feet of Polycarp and got from him the Creed which he describes for us in his works, and describes in such a way as to enable us to identify it with Tertullian's Rule of Faith and the Symbol of the Roman Church. Either, then, Irenæus is a liar, or his Baptismal Creed has the Apostles for its authors.

If earlier writers of the second century, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, or the nameless author of the *Didaché*, gave us a definite "outline of teaching" or "pattern of sound words", other than the Creed of Tertullian and Irenæus, and assured us that they got it from the Apostles, the case would be different. But either they are silent altogether, or the allusions they do make to a form of teaching are just such as we should expect from men who had a definite Creed but forbore, as did the Apostles before them, to set it forth in writing.

X

Harnack's Guesswork.—When, therefore, Harnack tells us that, "There did actually exist in the East (in Asia Minor or, as the case may be, Asia Minor and

Syria), as early as the beginning of the second century, *inter alia* a christological μάθημα which is most intimately related to the second article of the Roman creed" (p. 69), he does but thrust guesses upon us for historical facts. What warrant has he for the assumption of a plurality of formulas implied in his *inter alia* and expressed in his christological μάθημα related to but not identical with the second article of the Roman Creed? Not the least shred of warrant. Ignoring the so patent fact that the Symbol was not a written creed, and taking no account of the Discipline of the Secret, he mistakes for confessional formulas what are really but fragments of the Symbol. St John has but one "teaching" for his disciples to believe in, and for the stranger to "bring" to them in token of fellowship in the same Faith. St Paul knows of but "one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism", one "outline of teaching", one "pattern of sound words", one "deposit", which his disciples are to guard and to hand on to other faithful men. St Polycarp speaks of but one "word delivered to us from the beginning", and St Justin of one "Confession in the Christ of God". Irenæus has but one "Rule of Truth" which one Baptism bestows on believers throughout all the world, and Tertullian's Tessera is "one, sole, unchangeable, and irreformable". We conclude, then, that Harnack's *alia* exist only in his imagination, and that in reality even his "christological μάθημα" is but another name for the many-named Symbol. In matter of fact, we have it on the authority of the Emperor Justinian, in his *Adv. Origenem*, that, in the East, *mathema* and Symbol were used interchangeably to denote the Baptismal Creed. For he tells us that, in the Council

of Chalcedon, the Fathers " followed in all things the aforesaid symbol or *mathema* ", *i.e.*, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, and that the Fathers at Ephesus " anathematized those who should give candidates for baptism another [*i.e.*, a different] definition of Faith, or symbol, or *mathema*[1] ".

XI

The " Outline of Teaching."—The burden of St Paul's teaching, in the sixth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, is that the Christian neophyte, having " died to sin ", should henceforth " walk in newness of life " (v, 4). He reminds the Roman neophytes that they died to sin on the day of their baptism. " Are ye ignorant ", he asks them, " that all we who were baptized into Christ were baptized into His death? We were buried therefore with Him through baptism into death, that as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life " (vv, 3, 4). He unfolds this thought more fully in the verses that follow, pointing out that the resurrection of Christ from the dead is the pattern of our resurrection from the grave of sin. Then (v, 17) he leads those whom he is addressing back in thought once more to the day when they were buried with Christ through baptism into death: " But thanks be to God that, whereas ye were servants of sin, ye became obedient from the heart to that form of teaching which was delivered unto you; and being made free from sin, ye became servants of righteousness ". Note the expression " became obedient from the heart to that

[1] Migne, tome 69, col. 246.

form of teaching". The obedience is plainly that of faith (ὑπακουὴν πίστεως, *Rom.* 1 : 5), the assent to revealed truth given by the intellect, under the influence of the will, which in turn obeys the impulse of divine grace. And the aorist ὑπηκόυσατε points to the single moment of baptism. With the heart those Roman neophytes believed unto righteousness on the day of their baptism. But they also with the lips confessed their faith unto salvation (*Rom.* 10 : 10). For the obedience of faith which they yielded was to a "form", or "outline", or "norm" of doctrine—τύπον διδαχῆς. And this doctrinal formulary was "delivered unto" them, or they "were delivered unto" it, for so the words εἰς ὅν παραδόδητε are variously rendered. If we adopt the latter interpretation, which is more consonant with the letter, the meaning is that the Roman neophytes were given over, or gave themselves over, to the power and practice of the Faith they confessed in baptism. This is the sense in which the Apostle had already used παραδίδωμι in c. l. vv., 24, 26, 28. In any case, it is plain that they made a profession of faith before baptism in terms of an apostolic "outline" or "form of teaching".

But it may also be gathered from this passage that the outline of teaching delivered to the Roman neophytes was the established Baptismal Confession of Faith of the Apostolic Church, in East and West, wherever the Gospel had been preached. St Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans from Corinth, on the eve of his going to Jerusalem with the alms of the faithful (*Rom.* 15 : 25, 26). He had not as yet been able to pay his visit to Rome, so long looked forward to (*Ibid* 1 : 13, 15 : 22, 23). The Romans had received

the Faith many years before the date of his writing (A.D. 58 or 59). But the Apostle knew, for he assumes as certain, that an "outline" or "form of teaching" had been delivered to them as their Confession of Faith when they were "buried with Christ through baptism". How did he know it? Just as we know that catechumens the world over have to recite the Baptismal Creed before they are baptized. It is the unvarying law and custom of the Church now; it was the unvarying law and custom of the Church then. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: he that believeth not shall be condemned". (*Mark*, 16 : 16.)

There was, therefore, in the Apostolic Church a Baptismal Creed. And it was the same everywhere, so that one who had never set foot in Rome could know for certain that the Creed had been delivered to the first converts to Christ in that city. These two important points are put beyond question by the testimony of the Apostle. A third point, much more difficult, and of most vital moment, remains to be considered. What were the contents of that Creed? Here, if we go by what is set down in the New Testament only, we are left largely to inference and conjecture. And yet, if we cannot determine its precise content, we can go some way toward doing so, and be reasonably certain of the result.

In the first place, the Apostolic Creed (for such it was) must have contained three main divisions. Being a Baptismal Creed, it must have expressed the faith of the candidate for baptism in the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, into whose name he was to be baptized (*Matt.* 28 : 19). But may we assume that this was all? that the catechumen in the

Apostolic Church did but say, "I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost", and was incontinently baptized? We may not, and for many reasons.

This is merely the content of the Baptismal Formula, or form of the sacrament.

Such a formula would be altogether too vague and indefinite to serve the purpose of a baptismal Confession of Faith. The question would at once arise: Who and what is this Father, this Son, this Holy Spirit? The catechumen should know something about the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, that he might be able to say with the Apostle himself, "I know Him whom I have believed".

The expression "outline of teaching[1]" implies a larger content. The bare mention of the Three, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is no "teaching", but only the theme or text.

Besides, the "outline" in question served not only as a baptismal Confession of Faith but also as a tessera of orthodoxy, for to this use of it the Apostle alludes at the close of the Epistle, where he says: "Now, I beseech you, brethren, to mark those who cause divisions and scandal, contrary to the doctrine (*τὴν διδαχὴν*) you have learned, and to avoid them".—*Rom.* 16 : 17.

[1] The word *τύπος* from *τύπτω* means literally something that is formed or shaped by blows. The expression *τύπος διδαχῆς* can only mean a doctrinal formulary on the composition of which special pains have been bestowed. Whether you interpret it "form", or "sketch", or "outline", or "pattern", or "norm", "of doctrine", it suggests the Symbol and nothing else. The celebrated scholar, Christian Gottlob Wilke, in his *Clavis Novi Testamenti*, makes *τύπον διδαχῆς = norman doctrinae*. The testimony of Tertullian comes unbidden to one's mind: Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola, immobilis, et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem, mundi conditorem, et filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis, receptum in coelis, sedentem nunc ad dexteram patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos per carnis etiam resurrectionem.—*De Virginibus Velandis*, c. 1.

St Paul himself plainly implies (*Rom.* 10 : 8, 9) that the Confession of Faith which was to be made with the lips unto salvation—" the word of faith which we preach ", as he calls it there, which was " on the lips and in the heart " (v, 8) of the believer —contained something more than the mere mention of the Three Divine Persons. " For if you confess with your lips the Lord Jesus ", he says, " and in your heart believe that God raised Him from the dead, you shall be saved ". Therefore it was necessary to salvation to believe and confess that the Lord Jesus is the Son of God the Father,and that the Father raised Him from the dead. Therefore the first main division of the Apostolic Creed spoke of the Father as God, and the second spoke of the Son as the Lord Jesus, who arose from the dead. Nor would the statement about the resurrection be intelligible without previous mention of the crucifixion and burial, which, to be itself intelligible, would require a reference to the birth. The Son of God could not have died, had He not been born of a woman and become man. Therefore we may reasonably assume that the second main division of the Apostolic Creed contained at least the articles about the Virgin Birth, the Crucifixion and Burial, the Resurrection. And since Faith, particularly as the foundation of Hope, looks onward and upward, it would be needful to add the articles about the ascension of our Lord and His session at the right hand of the Father, and His second coming. This would complete the outline or sketch of the part played by the Second Person of the Trinity in the salvation of mankind. In the third main division of the Baptismal Creed, it would be natural to expect some account of the part appropri-

ated to the Third Person of the Trinity in the same work; how through the Church as His organ He remits sin and in virtue of His prerogative as the Life-giver will raise the dead to life at the last day.

With a fact and a postulate to start with, and by putting this and that together, that is to say, by process, partly of inference, partly of rational surmise, we have now been able to reconstruct the Baptismal Creed of the Apostolic Church, in much the same way as the naturalist, out of a handful of fossil remains, reconstructs a plant or animal of the prehistoric time. The fact is, that catechumens from the very infancy of the Church made a profession of the Christian Faith in terms of an "outline of teaching" on which apostolic preachers and writers were agreed. The postulate is, that this outline contained three main divisions, corresponding to the Three Persons of the Trinity, in whose name all Christians are baptized. The inference, certainly legitimate, is, that, as the "outline" was no formula of vague and indefinite import, but a "teaching", it must have taught those who learned it something definite about each of the Three Divine Persons, and specifically their relation severally to those who are born again by baptism. The rational surmise is, that this consisted in setting forth, at least in bare outline, the work that is appropriated to each in the divine plan of man's regeneration; how the first person of the Godhead is the Father, Maker of man and of all things, the second the Son and Redeemer, the third the Spirit of sanctification and final regeneration of the whole man, body and soul.

There are many considerations which lend the highest degree of antecedent probability to the

correctness of the conclusions we have thus far reached.

A " form of teaching ", on which the first preachers of the Gospel were agreed, should contain, in outline, the salient points of the Christian Faith.

Every single article of the Creed reconstructed above is set forth distinctly and repeatedly in the New Testament writings. Nay, more, the points of Faith covered by the articles of the Creed are developed, in some cases with considerable fulness, in these same writings. It would ill beseem the advocates of the modern theory of gradual evolution of doctrine to strain out the germs of Christian truth contained in our apostolic " outline of teaching ", if they have to swallow the large body of evangelical doctrine embalmed in the Gospels and Pastoral Epistles.

The law of Christ requires men to make an oral confession of the faith on pain of forfeiting eternal salvation (*Rom.* 10 : 10). This confession is to be made by every candidate for baptism (*Mark* 16 : 16). Now, there is but " One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all ". And this one Faith, to be confessed, must be set in one Formula, which shall be for all who receive the one Baptism. Individuals as such may profess their faith in terms of their own choosing, but the formula of initiation into a society must be the same for all members of the society. Furthermore, the formula of initiation into the Society founded by Jesus Christ should express the distinctive teaching of Jesus Christ ; should express belief in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as well as in those divine facts and ordinances which are the groundwork and source of Christian faith and hope.

Suppose the Apostolic Church had no formulated Baptismal Faith, and try to imagine the resulting confusion. Each individual, or at any rate, each Church, would be left to draw up its own Baptismal Creed, embodying therein such points of the Faith as it was deemed fitting it should, but not in accordance with any "form of sound words", such a "form" being excluded by the hypothesis. How should the oneness of the Faith be manifested under such circumstances, a oneness which was meant to be so striking, so impressive, that the world might know from it that Christ was sent by the Father? (*John* 17 : 23). In vain would the Apostle have besought the first converts that they should "all speak the same thing", and that they should be "perfected together in the same mind and in the same sense" (1 *Cor.* 1 : 10), had he not delivered to them a "pattern of sound words" (2 *Tim.* 1 : 13) to be the norm of their thinking and speaking.

The essential conditions of membership in a society whose constitution and organic laws are divine and unchangeable must be the same for all members, from the very foundation of the society. Now it is matter of historical record that, towards the close of the second century of the Christian era, an essential condition of membership in the Church founded by Jesus Christ, was a profession of faith at baptism in terms of a formulary which contained "something more than the Lord determined in the Gospel[1]" a formulary which has ever been known as the Apostles' Creed. We may conclude, therefore, that this formulary, as the same Tertullian testifies, "ran from the very beginning of the Gospel, even before

[1] Tertullian, *De Coron. Mil.* 3.

the earliest heresies", that it was "the doctrine" against which some persons "smooth and fair of speech" that we wot of caused "divisions and occasions of stumbling" (*Rom.* 16 : 17); in short, that the "outline of teaching" delivered to the first Roman converts was no other than the Old Roman Creed.

This consideration is reinforced by an examination of the words and structure of the Old Roman Symbol, of which Caspari says: "With its antique severity, its extraordinary simplicity and brevity, its eminently lapidary style, it creates in us the impression that it comes down word for word from the most remote Christian antiquity[1]". The following table exhibits the Old Roman Creed, article by article, in Latin and English, together with the words that have been added to it, and a few of the many New Testament references to the doctrine it embodies:

THE OLD ROMAN CREED.

LATIN	ENGLISH	ADDITIONS	REFERENCES
1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem;	I believe in God the Father Almighty;	*Creator of heaven and earth;*	1 *Cor.* 8 : 6; *Ephes.* 3 : 14; *Jo.* 14 : 1, 2.
2. et in Christum Jesum filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum;	and in Christ Jesus His only Son, our Lord;		1 *Cor.* 8 : 6; *Col.* 1 : 16.
3. qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine;	who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary;	who was *conceived* by the Holy Ghost, and born, etc.	*Luke* 1 : 35.
4. qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus;	who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried;	*suffered* and *died He descended into Hell.*	1 *Cor.* 15 : 3, 4.
5. tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;	rose again the third day from the dead;		*Ibid.*, v. 4.
6. ascendit in coelos;	ascended into heaven;		*Eph.* 4 : 8, 9,10
7. sedet ad dexteram Patris;	sitteth at the right hand of the Father;	*God* the Father *Almighty.*	*Col.* 3 : 1.
8. unde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos;	whence He shall come to judge the living and the dead;		1 *Thes.* 4 : 16.

[1] Cited by Bardenheur at page 74 of his *Geschichte der alt Kirchlichen Literatur.* Friburg, 1902. The testimony of Caspari, than whom no one knew more about the early Christian literature bearing on this subject, fits in admirably with the ancient tradition that it ascribes the authorship of the Creed to the Apostles.

LATIN	ENGLISH	ADDITIONS	REFERENCES
9. et in Spiritum Sanctum;	and in the Holy Ghost;	*I believe.*	1 *Cor.* 12 : 3-11.
10. sanctam ecclesiam;	the holy Church;	*Catholic; the communion of saints.*	*Eph.* 5 : 25, 27.
11. remissionem peccatorum;	the remission of sins;		*Rom.* 3 : 23.
12. carnis resurrectionem.	the resurrection of the flesh.	*and the life everlasting.*	1 *Thes.* 4 : 16.

The epithet "lapidary" which Caspari applies to it, fitly characterizes the monumental terseness and simplicity of this piece of composition. The formulary bears evidence on the face of it that it was drawn up before heresy came to trouble the calm and serenity of the first Faith. It is a plain statement of the foundation-truths of Christianity, concise almost to a fault. It is didactic and confessional in scope, not polemical. It gave occasion to heresy, rather than refutes it. For heresy is the denial of revealed doctrine as defined, as formulated, as officially promulgated by the Church. Just as there can be no law-breaking without a law, so there can be no heresy without a formulated creed, an authoritative statement of the points of faith that are held to be vital by the whole Christian community. Hence the men of "smooth and fair speech" among the first Roman converts are convicted of wilful error by St Paul in that the things they said were "contrary to the teaching" which had been once for all delivered. And the Apostle John warns "the elect lady and her children" not to receive into their house or give greeting to "any one who cometh unto you and bringeth not this teaching".

There is another and weighty consideration. The Church of Christ is built on the foundation of the Creed and the Sacraments. The bond of union between her members is their common Faith. But because the Church is a visible society, this bond of

union must be external and manifest, not internal only and in the heart. In other words, the common Faith must be embodied in a common Formula—*Fides in Regula posita est*, as Tertullian tells us. Therefore the Creed belongs to the very constitution of the Church of Christ, and must have existed from the very foundation of the Church, not less than the Sacraments.

Lastly, we know that the seven Sacraments existed in the Church ever since its foundation, and that the matter and form of each of the sacraments were determined once for all by the Apostles, in accordance with the instructions of the Master and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. Yet the constitution of the Creed can much more easily be traced in the New Testament writings than the constitution of the Sacraments. And the same is true of the early Christian writings that have come down to us. Were it not for Apostolical Tradition we should never have known that there are seven Sacraments, neither more nor less; and we should not have been able even to conjecture what were the form and matter of some of them. As, then, "we have received", to quote the words of St Basil, the doctrine concerning the Sacraments, "handed down to us in a secret manner, from the tradition of the Apostles[1]", so have we received the doctrine concerning the authorship of the Creed. And we cannot hold to the one and reject the other without manifest contradiction.

The tradition of the Church Catholic concerning the origin and authority of the Symbol is crystallized in the words which served as a preface to the *Traditio Symboli* in the early Church: *Suscipientes evangelici*

[1] *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 27, n. 66.

Symboli sacramentum, A DOMINO INSPIRATUM, AB APOSTOLIS INSTITUTUM, *cujus pauca quidem verba sunt sed magna mysteria.* SANCTUS ETENIM SPIRITUS QUI MAGISTRIS ECCLESIAE ISTA DICTAVIT, *tali eloquio talique brevitate salutiferam condidit fidem . . . Intentis itaque animis symbolum discite, et quod vobis, sicut accepimus, tradimus, non alicui materiae quae corrumpi potest, sed paginis vestri cordis, ascribite.* This preface, which is found in the Gelasian Sacramentary, Kattenbusch dates from A.D. 400, or even further back.

Thus far we have sought to learn, by means of inference and antecedent probability, what the contents were of the "outline of teaching" delivered to the first converts on the day of their baptism. Having got our bearings, we may now find a shorter way to the coveted goal. Let us imagine ourselves present at the solemn administration of baptism in Rome about the middle of the second century. Some ninety years have passed since St Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans. In the meantime the great Apostle of the Gentiles has come in person to the city on the Tiber, and has there sealed with his blood the faith embodied in the "outline of doctrine" originally delivered. Prisca and Aquila, Andronicus and Junias, Urbanus and Stachys, Tryphæna and Tryphosa, Philologus and Julia—these and the other saints to whom he sent greeting from far Corinth, have also passed away, and some of them no doubt have won, even as he did, the martyr's crown. But among the men and women gathered there are to be found descendants of these, grandchildren, and even children who bear the same honoured names, and hold fast the same "Faith once delivered to the saints". There may even be in the number some venerable

men who "have fought the good fight", and have "kept the Faith" which they received as babes in baptism before Tertius wrote down, at the dictation of the Apostle, the famous Letter to the Romans. We may picture to ourselves there, too, some "aged Victorinus, most learned and skilled in the liberal sciences, who had read and weighed and explained so many works of the philosophers", but who now blushes not "to be the child of Thy Christ and the new-born babe of Thy fountain, submitting his neck to the yoke of humility, and subduing his forehead to the reproach of the Cross[1]". When the hour is "come for making the profession of his faith", he makes it openly, "from an elevated place, in the sight of all the faithful, in a set form of words learned by heart", for so "at Rome they who are about to approach Thy grace" are wont to deliver it[2]. "It was the custom in Rome from old time", writes Rufinus, touching the same point, "for those who were about to be baptized to give out the Symbol publicly, that is, in the hearing of the faithful; and of a surety our forefathers in the faith would not brook to hear even a single word added" to it[3]. And Vigilius of Thapsus, about a century later: "Now in Rome, even before the Nicene Council met, from the time of the Apostles onward . . . the Symbol was so given to the faithful[4]", *i.e.*, word for word as it was first delivered to the Romans.

The "set form of words learned by heart" is thus given out aloud—for we know to a certainty how it ran: CREDO IN DEUM PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM; ET IN CHRISTUM JESUM FILIUM EJUS UNICUM DOMINUM

[1] *The Confessions of St Augustine*, Chap. 8, n. 3. [2] *Ibid.*, n. 5.
[3] *In Symb. Apost.*, n. 3. [4] *Defens. Ep. S. Leonis Papae*, n. 1.

NOSTRUM ; QUI NATUS EST DE SPIRITU SANCTO ET MARIA VIRGINE ; QUI SUB PONTIO PILATO CRUCIFIXUS EST ET SEPULTUS ; TERTIA DIE RESURREXIT A MORTUIS ; ASCENDIT IN COELOS ; SEDET AD DEXTERAM PATRIS ; UNDE VENTURUS EST JUDICARE VIVOS ET MORTUOS ; ET IN SPIRITUM SANCTUM ; SANCTAM ECCLESIAM ; REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM ; CARNIS RESURRECTIONEM. The assembled Christians listen with rapt attention to the words of the Baptismal Creed. And some among them, whose youth the " race of yore ", Andronicus, Urbanus, Rufus, Philologus, had " danced upon their knee ", recall the time when first they learned a certain " outline of teaching " from the lips of some grey-haired sire or patriarchal Roman priest. Nay, for it is but a matter of about eighty years, some of them may have seen with their own eyes what an Augustine at a later day is said to have expressed a wish to see—*Paulum in ore*, Paul speaking. And if we should visit Rome again three hundred years later, in the time of St Leo the Great, we should find that the Roman Church had still " kept her Symbol inviolate ", as St Ambrose expresses it, without the change of even one word. With much stronger reason must she have kept inviolate, in the hundred years going before, the " outline of teaching ", or " norm of doctrine ", or Rule of Faith which had been committed to her keeping by the Apostles, and which we can now identify as the Apostles' Creed.

For more than three hundred years the ancient tradition which makes the Apostles the authors of the Symbol, has been assailed by what is known to-day as historical criticism. At first men were told that the Symbol was unknown to the Christian Church

for at least four hundred years after Christ[1]. Further research, however, has traced it much farther back, and to-day none of the critics assigns to it a later date than the middle of the second century[2]. This marks a considerable advance towards the Catholic position, where the Symbol rests "on the foundation of the Apostles, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone". But it is such advance as a hostile army makes on a beleaguered fortress. Nor is the defence of late so alert and fearless as formerly. Too many, indeed, of the defenders, soldiers of Jesus Christ and captains in His army, wearied with the long conflict and faint at heart, have thrown down their arms; while others, not a few, have deserted and gone over to the enemy. But the garrison still holds out, strong in its trust that the position is impregnable. And now it is favoured by the fortune of war. The assailants have come too far forward to draw back. They have burnt their bridges behind them, and, because of their advanced position, are exposed in the open to the fire of their opponents. The defenders have become the assailants, and historical criticism must in its turn bear the brunt of the assault.

Figures of speech aside, two questions may be put to the critics which they must find a satisfactory answer for, or be fain to hold their peace for evermore. In the first place, what has become of the "outline of teaching" which St Paul tells us was delivered to the Roman neophytes on the day of their baptism; an outline of teaching which was to be their Rule of Faith and touchstone of doctrine? Has it perished? If so, what of the Apostle's injunction to "stand fast,

[1] Cf. Proudfit's "Remarks, etc., on the Apostles' Creed", p. 24, New York, 1852. [2] Cf. Harnack, *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 70.

and hold the traditions[1]" ? It had the authority of apostolic institution ; it could not be set aside, nor altered, nor added to. And even granting for the sake of argument that it was set aside, or altered, or added to, it remains for historical criticism to tell us by whom, and when, and under what circumstances this was done. We know that after the fifth century some words were added to the Old Roman Creed in Rome itself. But they only served to unfold its meaning, to meet some error, or guard against the possibility of its being misunderstood. Not one iota was added to the twelve articles of faith it contained from the first.

In the second place, who, if not the Apostles, are the authors of the Creed that has been known, time out of mind, as the Symbol of the Apostles ? If it was composed about the middle of the second century, how did this fact escape the notice of every writer, sacred and profane, in the after time ? And whence did Tertullian, and so many others, get the idea that it " ran from the beginning of the Gospel, even before the earliest heresies " ? *Every house is built by some one* (*Heb.* 3 : 4) : who, then, built this monumental edifice of the Christian Faith, which has so long weathered the storm, and so securely shelters the wayfarer till the night is gone ? After centuries of search for the source of the Symbol, the last word of the critics is a confession of ignorance. They have traced the Creed back, step by step, to the dim borderland of the subapostolic age, but not a trace of its authors have they found. The fabric they discern, but not the hands that fashioned it.

[1] The words occur in the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, but as Tertullian aptly says, " of what consequence are the titles, since in writing to one Church the Apostle did in fact write to all " ?—*Adv. Marcionem*, V, 17.

There, in the meantime, it stands, this monument more enduring than bronze, with no note of newness upon it, but bearing about it visible tokens of Apostolic workmanship for all that have eyes to see.

It may be urged that the expression τύπος διδαχῆς, (*Rom.* 6 : 17) has been too lightly taken to be a formulated Confession of Faith. As a matter of fact it has been understood to mean (1) the teaching of the Gospel, and (2) a rule of life or conduct, rather than of faith.

Now, τύπος διδαχῆς cannot properly be taken to mean the teaching of the Gospel, in general. Not that this is excluded. On the contrary, it is presupposed as leading up to and guaranteeing and expounding the τύπος. "How then shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in Him whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher"? (*Rom.* 10 : 14.) But the Gospel is a διδαχῆ, not a τύπος διδαχῆς. The word τύπος is part of the inspired text, and must not be dropped out or lost sight of in the rendering. It goes with διδαχῆς, too, and cannot primarily be understood, as at least one commentator understands it, of the impression made on the mind and heart of the person who believes the Gospel. The τύπος is on the part of the teaching, not of the taught, who do but give ear to and believe it (ὑπηκούσατε). Now, while teaching, among men who have all their faculties, is embodied in words, the words do not constitute a τύπος unless they take a set and, so to say, stereotyped form. The word τύπος means this, or it means nothing. In *Acts* 23 : 26, it signifies the contents of a short epistle; in *Rom.* 6 : 17, it signifies the contents of a doctrinal formulary. And

τὴν διδαχὴν of *Rom.* 16 : 17, may be identified with this τύπον διδαχῆς, Rom. 6 : 17, in view of the previous allusion to the latter, because of the presence of the article, and more especially because ἐμάθετε of the text, with its aorist form and its specific sense of "learning", not hearing or believing simply, suggests a set form of words once for all learned by heart.

Nor can τύπος διδαχῆς be taken to mean a rule of conduct, at least in its first intention. This appears from the whole scope of the Epistle, which may justly be described as the apotheosis of Faith. The boasting of the Jew "is excluded. By what law? of works? No, but by the law of faith" (*Rom.* 3 : 27). It is on faith that the Apostle lays the whole stress, while he shows that the moral law, whether in the case of the Gentile, who did "by nature the things of the law" (*Rom.* 2 : 14), or of the Jew, under the Mosaic dispensation, is barren of saving power without faith in Christ Jesus. "For not through the law was the promise to Abraham or to his seed, that he should be heir of the world, but through the righteousness of faith" (*Ibid.*, 4 : 13). We may conclude, then, that the "pattern of teaching" which served to mould the minds and hearts of the first Roman converts was the law and norm of Faith. This law of faith established the law of conduct. "The Christian Faith", observes Theodore Zahn, "brought home to men by the word preached, impressed on their memory when catechumens in the shortest possible form, and confessed by them before and at their baptism, was regarded as the inflexible measure by which the baptized should order their whole life, by which they should gauge everything presented to

them under the Christian name[1]". To this just observation we need only add that the law or rule of faith, with its formative influence upon character, "ran", as Tertullian testifies, "from the beginning of the Gospel", that is, from the time that the faith began to be preached and catechumens began to confess it at baptism in the shortest possible form. And, in fact, it does not seem that the essential elements of Christian belief could be compressed into a shorter form than that which bodies them forth in the Old Roman or Apostles' Creed.

Let it be considered, further, that the Christian religion has no law of conduct other than the law given once for all on Mount Sinai. The Evangelical Counsels are no law, for they do not bind the conscience. Our Lord came, as He Himself declared, not to make void the law, but to fulfil it. And He bade the one who would enter into life keep the commandments. "Do we then make the law of no effect through faith"? asks St Paul. And his answer is: "God forbid; nay, we establish the law" (*Rom.* 3 : 31). We may safely conclude, then, that the "norm of doctrine" delivered to the first Roman converts had to do with faith primarily, not with conduct. Indeed, the word employed in the text, ὑπηκούσατε (from ὑπό and ἀκούω, to hear with submissiveness), implies this, for faith, as we are told in the same Epistle, "cometh by hearing", and men must first "believe with the heart unto righteousness" and "confess with the mouth unto salvation" before they can take a single step on the way that leads to life.

At the very outset of his Letter to the Romans,

[1] *The Articles of the Apostles' Creed*, p. 42.

St Paul declares that he had "received grace and apostleship unto the obedience [ὑπακοὴν from ὑπακούω] of faith in all nations". (*Ibid.*, 1 : 5). This, then, was what every convert was called upon to yield at at baptism—the obedience of faith. It was the special mission of the Apostles to impose the law of faith upon an unbelieving world. And the special difficulty they had to overcome was the opposition of the human intellect to the novel and incomprehensible doctrine they taught—the mystery of a triune God, with the added mystery of a God born of a woman and dying on a cross. The Jews were already pledged by their religion to keep the commandments. The Gentiles showed "the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness thereunto, and their thoughts one with another accusing or else excusing them" (*Ibid.*, 2 : 15). The law which was given to the first converts, then, to Jews and Gentiles alike, the law to which they yielded obedience on the day of their baptism, the law under which they became Christians, was the law of faith. And as no law ever has been delivered, or ever can be delivered, to men save in a set form of words, it follows that the τύπος διδαχῆς was a formulated creed or rule of faith, "one, unchangeable, irreformable[1]", even as the faith is one, and unchangeable, and irreformable.

"Already at the time of St Paul's first missionary journey", writes Zahn[2], "that the candidate for baptism was accustomed to offer a confession of faith when he received baptism was borne witness to by St Paul himself—superfluously, for it is self-evident. He reminds Timothy of the beautiful confession he

[1] Tertullian, *De Virg. Veland.* c, 1. [2] *Op. Cit.*, p. 80.

once made before the assembled community when he followed the call to eternal life (1 *Tim.* 6 : 12). But it is a question whether this confession was already formulated; and if this was the case, whether that formula was already essentially the same as that which we can trace back with comparative certainty to the times of Justin and Marcion. Perhaps the first question may be answered in the affirmative and the second in the negative". If the τύπος διδαχῆς delivered to the Romans, some of whom were baptized before Saul of Tarsus became Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ (*Rom.* 16 : 7), was a formula of faith—and it is open to anyone who thinks it wasn't to show what else it could have been—we are justified in answering both of these questions in the affirmative. We are justified by the fact that the baptismal faith of a society is, from the nature of the case, a formulated faith, the same for all members of the society from its foundation. We are justified by the fact that the beautiful confession in question, with its setting of sound words, was an Apostolic ordinance, sacrosanct, unchanging, enduring, even as the faith which it enshrined. We are justified by the age-long tradition of the society itself, which has ever declared that it received its confession of faith from its founders. We are justified even by the fact that the one who, though hesitatingly, negatives the statement, has nothing better than conjecture to support his opinion withal, and that, if we should grant, for the sake of argument, the assumption on which the opinion is based, it would not bear out his denial. The assumption is that the original Creed differed from the historic Confession of Faith "in that it contained 'of David's race' or 'of

David's seed', which is wanting in all the other varying forms of the baptismal Creed without exception". But suppose it did contain that expression, would this affect its claim to be considered essentially the same? Surely not. For the truth embodied in that expression finds a place in the third article of the historic Creed—"born of the Holy Ghost and Virgin Mary". Our Lord was of David's seed on condition that His mother was. If she was not of the seed of David, neither was He, seeing that He was born, not "of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man" but "of the Holy Ghost". True, the Scripture does not say in terms that Mary was of David's race, but this follows by good and necessary consequence from what it does say. Thus St Augustine, arguing against Faustus the Manichean: "Since one and the same Evangelist distinctly affirms, on the one hand, that the mother of Christ was a virgin, on the other that Christ was of David's seed . . . what is there left us, if we are to credit God's Gospel rather than the fables of heretics, but to say that Mary was not alien from the House of David[1]"?

There is, in the able and spirited defence of the Virgin Birth, which Zahn puts forward in a later chapter of his work (pp. 117-45), this blemish, that he acknowledges the Davidic descent of Jesus "through Joseph, not through Mary, of whose descent the Scriptures say nothing", and is thus compelled to make Jesus the reputed son of David, as He was of Joseph. But this view is opposed to the whole tradition of the Church, and to Scripture as well. Enough to cite a passage from Tertullian, *Adv. Judæos*, c. 9: "And that the virgin of whom it

[1] *Contra Faustum*, l. 23, c. 8.

behoved Christ to be born must derive her lineage of the seed of David, the prophet Isaias in subsequent passages evidently asserts. ' And there shall spring', he says, ' a rod from the root of Jesse '—which rod is Mary—' and a flower shall rise from his root, and there shall rest upon Him the Spirit of God, etc.' For to none of men was the whole aggregation of spiritual credentials appropriate except to Christ, paralleled as He is to a flower by reason of glory and grace, but accounted of the root of Jesse, whence His origin is to be derived, to wit, through Mary. For He was of the native soil of Bethlehem, and the house of David, as, among the Romans, Mary is described in the census, of whom is born Christ ". It is interesting to have this testimony to Mary's Davidic descent (which seems to be implied with sufficient clearness in her having gone up, with Joseph, to Bethlehem to be enrolled, seeing that " every one ", as St Luke tells us, had to be enrolled in the city of his or her " house and lineage ")—it is interesting, I say, to have this testimony to the fact from an independent and authentic source, such as the record of the census kept in the Roman archives. Tertullian may have seen with his own eyes (for he dwelt some time in Rome), the name of Mary, and the testimony of her Davidic descent, traced out in the original census record. That this document was still extant at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth is attested by St Chrysostom and St Augustine, the former of whom explicitly, and the latter implicitly, appeal to it in confirmation of the ancient tradition of the Roman Church regarding the date of Christ's birth. The Pope who instituted the festival of the Nativity and set it on December 25, possessed in

this record a genuine historical warrant, the existence of which Mgr Duchesne, with all his learning and research, does not appear to have as much as suspected. But this by the way.

I have assumed that the faith confessed at baptism by the first Christians was the historic faith of Christianity in the triune God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. This is the faith of the New Testament, the faith revealed by Christ, the faith preached by His Apostles, " the faith once for all delivered to the saints ". To the preaching of this faith Christ's own baptism in the Jordan, type and pattern of ours, was the fitting prelude. For when He who was found there in fashion as a man came up from the water, the Spirit of God was seen to come down on Him in the form of a dove, and a voice out of heaven was heard to say, " This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased ".—*Matt.* 3 : 16, 17. " And because you are sons ", said Christ's Apostle to the first Christians, " God has sent the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father ".—*Gal.* 4 : 6. This distinctive and cardinal tenet of Christianity must have been woven as with threads of gold into the texture of that " pattern of doctrine " on which the first preachers of the Gospel were agreed.

" The Creed ", observes Zahn, " has its roots in Christ's command to baptize. Against the authenticity of that command no historical reasons worthy of consideration have been brought forward ". The command was " to teach all nations " and to " baptize them into the name (εἰς ὄνομα) of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ", that is to say, into the profession of the Christian religion, which rests on belief in the triune God as its foundation.

This means that no one was to be baptized unless he believed, and made profession of his belief before baptism, in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. " For with the heart we believe unto righteousness, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation ".—*Rom.* 10 : 10. How indeed was the teacher of the Gospel to know that the candidate for baptism held this faith unless he made open profession of it? We may, therefore, assume as certain that the formula, " I believe Jesus to be the Son of God " was but one article of the Confession of Faith required of every candidate for baptism in the Apostolic Church. True, it was the article on which the catechist laid the chief, not to say whole, stress in the case of converts from Judaism; for once these accepted " Jesus Christ and Him crucified " as their long-promised Messiah, they would have no difficulty in accepting the other points contained in the Apostolic " outline of teaching ". But that this article stood alone in the Apostolic Creed can be maintained only by those who are prepared to say that the Apostles ignored the express command of the Master. Besides, no one can believe that Jesus is the Son of God without believing in God the Father Almighty, whose Son He is, and " no one can say that Jesus is the Lord except in the Holy Ghost ".—1 *Cor.* 12 : 3. Inseparable in themselves, and in the faith of every Christian, the Three Persons of the Trinity are inseparable also in the Christian Confession of Faith.

The seeming confessional forms, " Jesus is the Lord " (1 *Cor.* 12 : 3), " Jesus is the Son of God " (1 *John* 4 : 15), " faith in Christ Jesus " (*Coll.* 1 : 4), " confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus " (*Rom.*

10 : 9), are paralleled by the seeming baptismal forms, " into the name of Jesus Christ " (*Acts* 2 : 38 ; 10 : 48), " into the name of the Lord Jesus " (*Ibid.*, 8 : 16 ; 19 : 5), " into Christ Jesus " (*Rom.* 6 : 3), and simply " into Christ " (*Gal.* 3 : 27). Now, as we may argue from the variations in the latter set of forms that the sacred writers are not citing them as the Baptismal Formula used in the Apostolic Church, so we may argue from the variations in the corresponding set of apparent confessional forms that they are not cited as the Baptismal Creed of the Apostolic Church. But as surely as there was, in the Apostolic Church, a Baptismal Formula, one and the same everywhere, and as surely as that Formula was Trinitarian, so surely was there in the Apostolic Church a Baptismal Creed, one and the same everywhere, and so surely was it a Trinitarian Creed. To say that all were baptized, whether Jews or Gentiles, under a Trinitarian Formula, into faith in the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but were required to profess their faith in the Son only, is to say what stands neither to reason nor to Scripture : not to reason, for the candidate's own confession was the only warranty of his faith the Church could have ; nor to Scripture, since " with the mouth confession is made unto salvation ".

There is a passage in *Acts* 19 which throws a valuable side-light on this point. " And it came to pass, while Apollo was at Corinth, Paul, having passed through the upper country, came to Ephesus, and there found certain disciples. And he said to them, Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed [the aorist form, πιστεύσαντες =when, believing, you were baptized] ? And they said to him, Nay, we did not

so much as hear whether there is a Holy Ghost. And he said, Into what, then, were you baptized? And they said, Into John's baptism". The Apostles confirmed adult converts immediately, or very soon, after baptism (Cf. *loc. cit.* vv. 5, 6 and *Acts* 8 : 14-16). St Paul's first query has reference to confirmation. He takes it for granted that these "disciples" are baptized. On this point, however, they soon undeceive him with their, "Nay, we did not hear whether there is a Holy Ghost". His next query is significant. It has flashed upon him that theirs could not have been the true baptism, and, by way of assuring himself, he asks: "Into what, then, were ye baptized"? It was as much as to say: "What kind of baptism could yours have been, when there was not so much as mention in it of the Holy Ghost"? The Apostle thus assumes that every one who is baptized into Christ Jesus has believed, and, of course, with his mouth confessed belief, not only in the Father and the Son, but also in the Holy Ghost. Can there be any doubt that, when these same disciples were afterwards baptized "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (*Ibid.*, v. 5), they both believed in and confessed as well the Holy Spirit as the God who sent the Spirit of His Son into their hearts, crying Abba, Father?

Professor McGiffert[1] has been able to discover "no sign that the triune formula was ever employed in the apostolic age" (p. 180). Its origin, later, he accounts for thus:

"The rise of such a formula it is not difficult to understand. The conversion of the Jews to Christianity meant only their acceptance of Jesus as the

[1] *The Apostles' Creed*, by Arthur Cushman McGiffert, New York, 1902.

Messiah, and so their baptism into the name of Jesus Christ was a full and adequate profession of their Christian Faith. But when the gospel went to the heathen the case was different. Their acceptance of Christianity meant the acceptance of the one God of the Christians, a God commonly hitherto unknown to them. And hence it would be quite natural for the custom to grow up of having the new convert declare his belief in the Christian God, as well as in Christ, in the very act of baptism. The mention of the name of the Holy Spirit was natural enough in connection with baptism both on Jewish and Gentile soil, for Christ's baptism was thought of from the beginning as a baptism in the Holy Spirit whom He had promised to bestow upon His disciples after His departure ". (Cf. *Matt.* iii. 1, *Mark*, i. 8, *Luke* iii. 16, *John* i. 26-33, *Acts*, i. 5, xix. 1 seq. ; and compare also *Acts* viii. 15 seq. ; ix. 17, x. 44 seq.) (pp. 183-4).

In the twenty-third book *Against Faustus*, St Augustine cites the Manichean teacher as saying :

" On one occasion, when addressing a large audience I was asked by one of the crowd, Do you believe that Jesus was born of Mary ? I replied, Which Jesus do you mean ? for in the Hebrew it is the name of several persons. One was the son of Nun, the follower of Moses (*Exod.* 33 : 11) ; another was the son of Josedech the high-priest (*Agg.* 1 : 1) ; again, another is spoken of as the son of David (*Rom.* 1 : 1-3) ; and another is the Son of God (*Mark* 1 : 1) ".

On the part of Faustus, this, of course, was captious, for he well knew which Jesus was meant. But it may serve to show how far from adequate, even in the case of the Jew, would have been the mere profession of faith at baptism in Jesus the Son of God. Far beyond the bounds of Judea, among the Gentiles in almost every land, the Apostles made converts of Jews, who had not up till then even heard whether there was

a Jesus the Son of God, and for whom a confession of faith in such terms would have been wholly inadequate. Nor is it true, save in a qualified sense, that the God of the Christians was their God, for the God of the Christians is a Trinity, and the Jews had not learned so to conceive of Jehovah. Besides, the same faith was preached from the first to Jew and Gentile, without distinction. "For ye are all sons of God by the faith which is in Christ Jesus . . . There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free".—*Gal.* 3 : 26-28. As for the theory that it was after the time of the Apostles the custom grew up of having the converts from heathenism declare their belief in the Father Almighty, and in His Son Christ Jesus, born of the Virgin Mary, and in the Holy Ghost, it is difficult to see how one who has read the New Testament carefully could ever have seriously put it forward. Into what, then—to adapt the pointed query put by St. Paul to the men who had not so much as heard whether there was a Holy Ghost—Into what, then, were the first Gentile converts baptized?

As confirming the Apostolic use, the Rev. A. E. Burn[1] lays stress, and rightly, on "an unbroken traditional use of the Trinitarian formula, witnessed to by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian". On the general question of the origin of the Creed, however, he abandons the ground of tradition. Having searched the pages of the New Testament for the *ipsissima verba* of the Creed, and not finding them, he sums up the case in these words:

"The seed of a garden plant contains in it the promise of bud and flower, but it is only through

[1] *An Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 22.

the hidden working and secret chemistry of nature that it is transformed. To look, then, for the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed in the New Testament is like looking for the sprouting of a seed while we keep it in a paper packet[1]".

Here we have the theory of the gradual evolution of doctrine clothed in a very attractive garb. It assumes that the Creed grew out of the New Testament, or, to put it in terms of Mr. Burn's metaphor, that the Apostles caused some seeds of doctrine to be put in the paper packet known as the New Testament, and that, after they had passed away, others took these seeds out of the packet, planted them, and presently, to their great delight, saw them sprout into the twelve articles of the Creed. But as a matter of fact the Creed did not grow at all: it was made. Doctrines grow, along definite lines, but creeds are formulated. Now, if it can be shown that the doctrines themselves, in other words, the twelve articles of the Creed, exist in the New Testament in a more highly developed state than in the Apostles' Creed, the bud-and-flower theory of the origin of that time-honoured formulary is nipped in the bud. Here, in parallel columns, are the articles of the Old Roman Creed and certain of the New Testament passages which embody the doctrine of these articles:

Creed	Testament References
1. I believe in God the Father Almighty;	To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things.—1 *Cor.* 8 : 6. The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, from whom all paternity is named in heaven and on earth.—*Eph.* 3 : 14, 15.
2. and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord,	And one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things.—1 *Cor.* 8 : 6. For God so loved the world as to give His only-begotten Son that all who believed in Him should not perish.—*John* 3 : 16.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

CREED	TESTAMENT REFERENCES
3. who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,	Behold thou shalt conceive in the womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus.—*Luke* 1 : 31. And the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee, and therefore the Holy One that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.—*Ibid.*, v. 35.
4. who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried,	For I have delivered unto you how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and how he was buried.—1 *Cor.* 15 : 3,4. The God of our fathers glorified His Son Jesus, whom you indeed delivered up and denied before the face of Pontius Pilate.—*Acts* 3 : 13. Cf. also *Matt.* 27 ; *Mark* 15 ; *Luke* 23 ; *John* 19.
5. rose again the third day from the dead,	And how he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures.—1 *Cor.* 15 : 4. Now if Christ be preached that he hath been raised from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead ?—*Ibid.*, v. 12.
6. ascended into heaven,	For which reason he saith : Ascending on high he led captivity captive . . . He who descended, He it is who ascended above all the heavens, that he might fill all things.—*Eph.* 4 : 8-10. Cf. also *Acts* 1, and *Eph.* 1 : 20-3.
7. sitteth at the right hand of the Father,	And made him to sit at his right hand in the heavenly places.—*Eph.* 1 : 20. Seek the things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God.—*Coll.* 3 : 1
8. from thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead ;	And he charged us to preach unto the people, to testify that this is he who is ordained of God to be the judge of the living and the dead.—*Acts* 10 : 42. Cf. also *Acts* 17 : 31. I charge thee in the sight of God, and of Christ Jesus who shall judge the living and the dead.—2 *Tim.* 4 : 1 ; *Matt.* 25 : 31 *seq.*
9. and in the Holy Ghost,	Baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.—*Matt.* 28 : 19. God has sent the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.—*Gal.* 4 : 6. The Spirit of truth who proceedeth from the Father, He shall bear witness of me.—*John* 15 : 26.
10 the holy Church,	Thou art Peter and on this rock I will build my Church.—*Matt.* 16 : 18. Christ loved the Church and gave Himself up for it, . . . that it should be holy and without blemish.—*Eph.* 5 : 25-28. Cf. also 1 *Cor.* 12 : 12-31.
11. the remission of sins,	Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven unto them.—*John* 20 : 23. The Son of his love, in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins.—*Coll.* 1 : 13, 14.
12. the resurrection of the flesh.	The hour is coming in which all that are in the graves shall hear the words of the Son of God, and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of judgment.—*John* 5 : 28, 29. Since by man came death, by man also came the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive.—1 *Cor.* 15 : 21, 22. Cf. also vv. 23-57.

There are many other passages in the New Testament which embody the truths set forth in the Creed, but enough to have cited these. Does it not begin to look as if Mr Burn had mixed—not his metaphor—but his facts? It is in the Creed that the seed-truths are wrapped up; the bud, and blossom, yea, and, in a measure, the ripe fruit of Apostolic teaching we find in the New Testament. I have said, in a measure, for we gather from the New Testament itself that the full exposition of the Gospel doctrine was given, not with pen and ink, but with the living voice. It is not, then, a case of Apostolic doctrine growing slowly into a post-apostolic creed, but of the unfolding of existing creedal truths, and the bringing them home in a practical way to the minds and hearts of Apostolic Christians. Development of doctrine there was, but it began on the Day of Pentecost, and ran on, under the fostering influence of the Paraclete, till the last of the inspired teachers entered into his rest. Since then the tree of divinely revealed truth, planted and nurtured by the Apostles, has put forth no new shoot, though it ever clothes itself anew with foliage, as the years wear on, and breaks into blossom, and bears fruit, in due season. This is but another way of saying that no new truth has been given to the Church by revelation since the last of the Apostles died. Men have since then, by the help especially of God's Holy Spirit, gained a fuller and deeper insight into the meaning of the truths originally delivered, in their manifold implications and applications. But all this is only the blossom and fruit of Apostolic doctrine.

That the New Testament exhibits a riper development of doctrine than the Apostles' Creed, a glance at

the parallel columns will show. In the first article the Father's attribute of omnipotence is revealed as in exercise, in the words of the text, " of whom are all things ". The equivalent of this expression, namely, " Maker of heaven and earth," did not find its way into the Apostles' Creed till after the fifth century. The meaning of the second article is more explicitly set forth in the words, " by whom are all things ", which make Christ co-creator with the Father—the Word by whom all things were made (*John* 1 : 3). The doctrine of the third article is developed by a setting forth of the motive of Christ's coming—" God so loved the world ", and of its object—" that all who believe in Him should not perish, but should have life everlasting ". Well-nigh three centuries had gone by before this idea found its way, at Nice, into the Creed—" for us men and for our salvation ". The words " crucified " and " buried ", of the fourth article, only imply what St Paul expressly affirms—" died for our sins " ; and the word " died " was not in the Creed till after the fifth century[1]. As for the circumstances of the crucifixion and burial, the Evangelists set them before us in detail. The doctrine of the fifth article furnishes the Apostle with an argument for the resurrection of the dead (1 *Cor.* 15 : 12), and a plea for perseverance " in newness of life " (*Rom.* 6 : 4). So Christ's ascension (art. 6) is shown to be fraught with consolation for the believer, in that He " led captivity captive ", and His session at the right hand of the Father (art. 7) gives the keynote of a *sursum corda* (*Col.* 3 : 1)

[1] It is not in the English version of the Creed to this day, for " dead " signifies, not the act of dying, but the state of one who has died. It is on the act, not the state, that stress should be laid, for it was by the act that the handwriting of the decree which stood against us was blotted out.

while it whispers of hope and courage to hearts that faint. For " Christ entered not into a holy place made with hands, type and token of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear before the face of God for us ".—*Heb.* 9 : 24. " Seeing that these things are thus all to be dissolved ", is St Peter's practical application of the doctrine of the eighth article, " what manner of persons ought ye to be in holy living and godliness ".—2 *Pet.* 3 : 11. For the rest, the second coming, as revealed in the New Testament, wears the garb of history rather than of prophecy, so vividly is it portrayed. The Holy Spirit, of the ninth article, is represented as co-equal with the Father and the Son (*Matt.* 28 : 19), and as proceeding also from the Son ; for He is declared to be the Spirit of the Son (*Gal.* 4 : 6). On the other hand, New Testament converts are represented as not merely believing in Him (which they needs must have done before receiving Him), but as experiencing in themselves and witnessing on every side manifold miraculous proofs of His divine power. " Holy Church ", of the tenth article is but the name of that divine organism which palpitates with life before us in the pages of the New Testament. The creedal form does but enclose the mustard-seed, which, even in the days of the Apostles, is grown into " a tree, so that the birds of the air come and dwell in the branches thereof ".—*Matt.* 13 : 32. The eleventh article tells us nothing of how " the remission of sins " is wrought, or how gained. In the New Testament, all this is a hundred times made plain. Last of all, Christ Himself, in a few pregnant words, clothes the teaching of the twelfth article for us in a raiment of light (*John* 5 : 28, 29). And never since St Paul's own

day has there been penned so lofty and luminous an exposition of the resurrection-doctrine as that which is set before us in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

The theory that the Creed, with its simple statement of primal truths, is related to New Testament teaching as bud and flower are to the seed, is preposterous, in the first and strict sense of that word. The "outline of teaching" known as the Apostles' Creed, which "ran from the beginning of the Gospel, even before the earliest heresies", is what it purports to be—an outline, and nothing more. It is older than the New Testament, which unfolds its doctrines,—older, as the seed is older than the flower and the fruit. *Wherefore let us cease to speak of the principles of Christ, and press on to perfection; not laying again a foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God, of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment.*—*Heb.* 6 : 1, 2.

CHAPTER X

DRAWN UP BY THE TWELVE

I

The Abbé Fouard's Theory.—Not the least interesting chapter of a deeply interesting book is that in which the Abbé Fouard discusses the origin of the Apostles' Creed[1]. He traces it to an Apostolic source, but not to the traditional one. Because of variations which are "incontestable", he finds that he cannot "accept without reservation the tradition which credits the composition of the Symbol to the Twelve on the eve of their separation" (p. 237). He says:

"The time was not one likely to produce formularies. The Church, being still oriental to all outward seeming, preached and meditated without feeling any need of dogmatizing on her beliefs. The disciples' only anxiety was to treasure up every one of the Master's words, and thus embrace the whole body of the truth, not to compress it into a precise form. When Rufinus credits the Apostles with so much anxiety lest they should fail to teach the one same doctrine, after their dispersion, he forgets that the Holy Spirit spoke by their mouth, and was to assist them to the very last hour of their lives. So, then, we conclude that the Creed had its origin, not in Jerusalem but at a later date, in Rome, when Peter and Paul were nearing the close of their lives".

[1] *St Peter and the First Years of Christianity* (translated by G. F. X. Griffith), Longmans, 1898.

The reasons given by the learned Abbé in support of this view are more specious than solid. The ancient tradition has to be taken without reservation or not at all. In Leo the Great we have a most trustworthy exponent of it, and one who certainly would not abate by as much as a jot or tittle the prerogatives of the See of Peter. Yet he knows of no Symbol composed by SS. Peter and Paul. His is *duodecim apostolorum totidem signata sententiis*—the joint composition of the Twelve.

II

The Unaltered Symbol.—Let us take the Abbé's reasons in order. Variations in the form of the Symbol are by no means incontestable, in an unqualified sense. The Symbol, as has been so often observed, was not first given in writing, nor is it found in writing earlier than the fourth century, though Irenæus and Tertullian embody the drift and meaning of it in words of their own, and there are fragments of it scattered here and there in almost all the early writings. Rufinus is our first witness to the precise form in which it was recited by the candidates for baptism. And he tells us that, while additions, all of them inconsiderable, were made "in divers Churches, yet this is not found to have been done in the Church of the city of Rome[1]".

Rufinus gives two reasons why the Roman Church "kept her Symbol inviolate", as St. Ambrose puts it: (1) that "heresy never had its origin there", and (2) that "it was customary in Rome from the olden time for those who were about to receive

[1] *In Symb. Apost.*, n. 3 (Migne, tome 21, col. 339).

baptism to recite the Symbol publicly, that is, in the hearing of the faithful; and certainly those who went before us in the faith would not bear to hear even a single word added" to the Creed. Burn questions the historical accuracy of what Rufinus says in the first place, and remarks that, "The comparative freedom from the assaults of heresy which the Roman Church enjoyed during the fourth century, when Rome was the refuge of Athanasius and Marcellus, tended to obscure the fact that during the second and third centuries the city was the favoured resort of false teachers" (p. 58). But Rufinus does not say that heresy was not taught in Rome; what he says is that it did not originate there. And this seems to be true, at least in the sense that those who taught heresy there were not members of the local Roman Church, but came from without. Thus Valentinus, and Cerdon, and Marcion, heresiarchs of the second century, came to Rome from the East, where they were imbued with the errors "of Simon and his sect", as Irenæus bears witness[1]; also (*Ibid.*, n. 4), where he describes them as the "disciples and successors of Simon the sorcerer of Samaria". Novatus and Novatian, in the following century, were not Romans, the one being an African, the other a Spaniard; and they taught no new heresy. The false doctrines which they spread had their root in the Montanist error.

St Ambrose, or whoever the author is of *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos*, touches the fundamental reason why the Roman Church kept her Symbol unchanged when he calls attention to the singular veneration with which the See of Peter, the Apostolic

[1] Bk 1; c. 27; n. 1.

See, regarded the Apostolic Symbol. "If", he says, "we may not take anything from or add anything to the writings of one Apostle, we certainly may not take anything from or add anything to the Symbol which we accept as having been composed and handed down to us by the (twelve) Apostles. This is the Symbol which the Roman Church possesses —the Church over which Peter, the chief of the Apostles presided, and to which he brought the common formula—communem sententiam".

III

A Two-Edged Objection.—But let us grant the variations (in the form, not in the articles of Faith embodied) in the Symbol, incontestable. Is not the objection which the Abbé bases upon them a sword that cuts both ways? Is a Creed composed by the Apostles Peter and Paul, in Rome, when nearing the close of their lives, in any essential respect less venerable or sacrosanct a formulary than a Creed composed by the Twelve, in Jerusalem, on the eve of their dispersion? Singularly enough, this objection, which Burn, too, urges, as we have seen, and, without being aware of it, satisfactorily solves, is solved by the Abbé also, in the following passage, without being himself the wiser for it:

"Nevertheless let us call to mind the fact again that it [the Symbol] was never regarded as an inspired witness, an immutable text, in the same sense as our Holy Books. It was a formula of initiation, a Profession of Faith, hence Christians were careful in preserving its exact terms; but it was not a document of revelation, and hence the perfect freedom with which, outside of Rome, in the first centuries,

and later on in Rome itself, they proceeded to modify its primitive form[1]".

While this disposes of the objection, it is not itself correct in every particular. The Symbol was not regarded as an "immutable text", for the simple reason that it was not from the first a "text" at all. But it was regarded as immutable, the truths it embodied being immutable. A "document of revelation" it was not, it is true, but an authentic summary of the Christian revelation, an "outline" of oral teaching, a "pattern of sound words". It was not, nor did it purport to be a new revelation, but a summing up of what had been already revealed. At the same time, there is no reason for assuming that it was not held to be an inspired witness, seeing that the authors of it were inspired and infallible—not less inspired and infallible when they delivered their message by word of mouth than when they delivered it in writing. In point of fact, the author of the *Explanatio* deems the Symbol to have greater authority than the writings of any one Apostle, as being the joint work of the Twelve; just as a definition of Faith given by a General Council carries more weight with the run of men than one set forth by the Pope alone, though it has no greater intrinsic authority.

IV

Rufinus Speaks for Himself.—The Abbé does Rufinus less than justice when he represents him as "crediting the Apostles with so much anxiety lest they should fail to teach the one same doctrine, after their dispersion". Let Rufinus speak for himself:

[1] *Ibid.*, 245.

" Being thus about to separate from one another ", he says, " they first drew up in common a norm for their preaching in the after-time, lest, when they had gone in different directions, one should set forth to those who were invited to receive the Faith of Christ something different from what was set forth by another ". Rufinus is thinking of the Profession of Faith which would be required, according to the Divine command (Mark 16 : 16), of all those who should seek to enter the Church by baptism. Now, while there was not the least danger that the Apostles themselves would fail to teach the same doctrine, in a general way, there was grave danger that those who came after them should not. What is more, nothing short of a miracle would have made the Apostles individually embody the self-same points of faith and the same number of articles in the formulary that was to be tendered to the candidates for baptism, had they not collectively agreed upon it before their separation.

V

An Additional Proof.—Here we have a fresh proof, and an irrefragable one, of the truth of the ancient tradition. In the latter half of the second century, the Baptismal Creed of all the Churches, both in the East and in the West, was, so Irenæus and Tertullian assure us, one and the same. How came it to be one and the same ? If it had been composed in Rome by SS. Peter and Paul, as the Abbé Fouard supposes it to have been, it could not have made its way into the other Churches, for each Church founded by an Apostle would cling to its own Confession.

If, on the other hand, its own Confession, the Confession it got from its founder, tallied exactly with the Roman one, this, failing a pre-existing agreement between the founders, could not be without a miracle —and miracles hold a first place in the great category of things that are not to be multiplied without necessity.

It will be said that this reasoning rests on an assumption which may be challenged, the assumption, namely, that each of the Apostolic Churches had a Baptismal Creed from the first. "The Church", we are told, "being still oriental to all outward seeming [what time the Apostles were all together in Jerusalem], preached and meditated without feeling any need of dogmatizing on her beliefs". This, rather, is the assumption, and one not reconcilable with known facts. The Church from the Day of Pentecost onward, in obedience to the Master's injunction, did more than preach and meditate—she baptized, and, when there was question of adults, baptized only such as made a profession of faith in the truths of the Christian Religion. Is it not fatuity (the word is almost a mild one) to think that the Apostles failed to realize that it was their place as the first and supreme pastors of the Church to determine, once and for all, what truths of the Christian Religion should be embodied in that profession, and in what "form of sound words?"

VI

Primary Purpose of the Symbol.—One more citation from the Abbé, and we have done with this phase of the subject. He is setting forth the reasons which

led him to conjecture that the Symbol was composed in Rome :

" Here in Rome place and time alike had changed. Difficulties and divisions came to trouble the unanimous faith of the first day . . . The doctrines of these innovators were not so much to be feared as their speech, for it spread like a cancer, masking its inward corruption under a profane show of new words (2 *Tim.* 2 : 17). To shun these pitfalls of speech . . . it behoved their leaders to arm themselves with certain fixed terms. Hitherto the Apostolic preaching had aimed solely at making Jesus better known and loved. Now the hour was come for embodying their teaching in a few essential dogmas, which all could commit to memory, and hold as a safeguard against heresy ". (p. 238).

This takes it for granted that the primary purpose of the Symbol was to serve as a safeguard of the Faith and a test of truth and error, whereas its primary purpose was confessional and catechetical. " With the heart ", says St Paul, " we believe unto justice, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation ".—*Rom.* 10 : 10. It is pleasant to find oneself for once in accord with Harnack, who says on this point : " The purposes for which it was composed can be determined with certainty from our knowledge of its uses : it sprang out of the missionizing and catechizing function of the Church, and was originally merely the confession to be used at baptism (ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit.—Tertullian)[1]". It is singular that one who was clear-sighted enough to see this should not also have seen the consequence logically involved in it. Since the

[1] *The Nineteenth Century*, for July, 1893 ; art. " The Apostles' Creed ", translated from the German, by Mary A. Ward.

missionizing and catechizing function of the Church began on a world-scale when the Apostles set themselves to "preach the Gospel to every creature", the formulary which has ever been the basis of catechetical instruction in the Church must have come into existence about the same time. Furthermore, error was to be met from the very first. The Apostles knew from the first that heresies would arise, for the Master had clearly foretold this (*Matt.* 7 : 15). It was needful, therefore, that, from the first, they should make provision against heresy.

CHAPTER XI

THE JUDEAN HORIZON

I

Professor Kunze.—*The Apostles' Creed and the New Testament* is the title of a comparatively recent work on the Creed by Dr Kunze, of the University of Griefswald. The authorized English translation is by George William Gilmore.

Professor Kunze has written several treatises on the history of the Creed. The present work, which made its appearance on the eve of the Great War that so absorbed the minds and energies of men, is a study in origins. Adhering, as it does strictly, to the method of historical criticism, it yet traces the Creed, in the primitive form as represented by R back to pre-Pauline times. In this it is peculiarly noteworthy. Kattenbusch does not see his way to go back with the Creed beyond the end of the first century, while Harnack stops short of this by half a hundred years. But once you conclude for the Judean origin of the Creed, as Dr Kunze does, there is no stopping short of what he calls " the primitive apostolic congregation ". This, of course, can only mean the twelve Apostles, for it is they who were commissioned to baptize and to teach, and therefore to draw up the baptismal confession of faith. Thus the ancient and universal tradition of the Catholic Church regarding the origin of her Creed, which

historical criticism began by impugning, has now been implicitly accepted as true by its latest representative spokesman.

II

The Creed pre-Pauline.—Our author traces the Creed in Cyprian, Tertullian and Irenæus to the middle of the second century. Then he infers that it is " as a whole pre-Gnostic, older than the Gnostic Marcionite crisis, therefore also pre-Catholic " (p. 88). This inference, borne out by several considerations which need not be rehearsed here, is also justified by the fact that the primitive Creed lacks the addition " Catholic " as a designation of " holy Church ", seeing that the Church was so known as early as the beginning of the second century. From this is but a step to " the first decade of the mission to the heathen ", and therefore to pre-Pauline times (1 *Cor.* 15). Kattenbusch is quoted as affirming that the Symbol arose in a Christian congregation which " regarded itself as the real Messianic congregation and measured itself primarily by the synagogue ; also, that it " corresponds to the preaching which was employed in the missionary work as shown in the *Acts* ". While this cannot well be reconciled with Kattenbusch's own theory of the Roman origin of the Creed at the dawn of the second century, Dr Kunze rightly feels that it is no concern of his if it cannot (p. 123). He concludes that the Creed is not a Pauline creation, but is pre-Pauline (p. 124).

Among the evidences in the writings of St Paul that he knew of a Creed, or baptismal confession of faith, drawn up independently of himself by the other

Apostles, is one, and that undoubtedly the most convincing, which Dr Kunze, strangely enough, overlooks. It is in the Epistle to the Romans, chapter six, where the Apostle thanks God that, " whereas they were at one time servants of sin, they gave adhesion from their hearts to the outline of teaching which was delivered to them " (6 : 17) on the day of their baptism. But with this I have dealt elsewhere. That this baptismal confession of faith was what we know to-day as the Old Roman Creed, there cannot be a reasonable doubt. We have as surety the fact that the Creed existed and was used as a profession of faith at baptism in Rome during the century following. We have the further fact attested by Rufinus that, whereas in other places, as in Aquileia itself, changes occurred in the wording of the Creed, the Romans never suffered anything to be taken from or added to it. Much less would they have suffered this to be done in the earlier time, when the memory of apostolic teaching was still fresh among them. We have, in addition to this, the constant tradition of the Roman Church herself, which, jealous as she ever was of her prerogatives and alert in the defence of them, never laid claim to the authorship of the Creed, but, on the contrary, always proclaimed it to be the work of the Twelve Apostles. Lastly, we have the witness of Tertullian, who tells us that the Roman Church " learned " her Creed ; did not, therefore, compose it.

III

" Contesseravit " Again.—The passage in which the great African polemecist bears this testimony must be quoted here :

" Videamus quid didicerit, quid docuerit, cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesseravit. Unum Deum agnovit creatorem universorum, et Christum Jesum ex Maria Virgine, filium Dei creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem ".

There are variant readings, but the foregoing appears to be the true one. Migne has " contesserarit ", but " cum " temporal is not followed by the subjunctive except in the imperfect and pluperfect tenses. Another reading, has " quid cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesseravit ", where the verb should be in the subjunctive, as belonging to a dependent clause, co-ordinate with the two preceding clauses.

Dr Kunze translates the passage (so, at any rate, it runs in the English translation from the German original) :

" Let us see what it (*i.e.*, the Roman Church) has learnt, what it has taught, also what it, with the African Churches, has put forth as the distinctive marks. It recognizes one God, the Creator of all, and Christ Jesus (born) of the Virgin Mary, Son of God the Creator, and the resurrection of the flesh ".

The latter of the two sentences is a word for word rendering, and certainly correct. The former is a faulty translation. Tertullian is speaking of something that happened in a past period of time when he says the Roman Church " learned " her Creed. The context shows this clearly. " He wants to prove ", to quote Dr Kunze's own words, " how churches which, like the Carthaginian, could not claim for themselves apostolic origin, could prove the apostolicity of the doctrine advocated by them or of the rule of faith. This came about simply by the fact

that they were in accord with the really Apostolic churches (p. 65) ". So, Tertullian proves the apostolicity of the doctrine and creed of the Church of Carthage by pointing out her filial relation with the Mother Church of Rome, into which the Apostles, as he so strongly words it, " poured all their doctrine with their blood ". Therefore, we are to understand him to say that the Roman Church first got or " learned " from the Apostles what she afterwards taught, when " she gave the symbol of fellowship in the faith to the Churches of Africa ". What was this ? What but " the outline of teaching ", or rule of faith, ever known as the Symbol or the Apostles' Creed which St Paul called to the minds of the Roman Catholics of his day, and which Tertullian sums up for us, giving the first, second and last articles. It is true that we can only guess at the exact meaning of " contesseravit ", which Tertullian coins from " tessera ", another word for " symbol ", or distinctive mark. But the fact that he answers his own question by summarizing the Creed, goes to show that " giving the symbol of fellowship in the faith " is at least much nearer the true meaning than " putting forth as the distinctive marks ".

We have thus the testimony of St Paul that the first Roman converts made their profession of faith at baptism in terms of an apostolic " outline of teaching " ; and the testimony of Tertullian, before the close of the following century, that the Roman Church " learned " from the Apostles her baptismal confession of faith. In the mouth of two such witnesses let the truth stand.

IV

Under Pontius Pilate.—It remains but to cite the passage in which Dr Kunze supports his own contention that the Creed is pre-Pauline with the brilliant discovery (it may well so be termed) of a Catholic scholar:

" This view is expressly recommended by a single item in the symbol—the noteworthy time mark in the words ' under Pontius Pilate '. An interesting study of this passage was published in 1895 by the Roman Catholic scholar, Morawski, in the *Zeitschrift fur Katholische Theologie*, pp. 91 ff; and if Kattenbusch had known of it, he would certainly not have said: ' This mark of time is after the Roman method of thought. One living in Palestine would have thought sooner of King Herod than of a temporary governor '. Against this Morawski shows that the phrase, ' under Pontius Pilate ' means simply that our *Credo* arose, not in the metropolis of the Roman empire, but in the province of Judea. It is very natural that anyone writing in the province should refer rather to the name of the governor in fixing a date than to the emperor, for the former is better known to the reader in a place. An author in the metropolis would not have that view of things' (p. 94). And he thinks that a conclusion may be drawn from those words with reference not merely to the place, but also to the time of its origin. It is deducible from this that the author of the symbol regarded the whole affair as something provincial which pre-eminently concerned his countrymen. He considers the conclusion justified that a formula of faith which placed the death of Jesus Christ under Pontius Pilate could not have arisen first after the spread of Christianity in the Roman Empire, but in the period ' when the horizon of those who made the *Credo* was still limited by the Judean highlands ' ".

It is astonishing that Kattenbusch should have committed himself to the statement contained in the last sentence of the words quoted from him above. One living in Jerusalem in the province of Judea would naturally think of the man who had the power of life and death in that city and province when telling of the things that came to pass there "concerning Jesus of Nazareth, who was a prophet, mighty in work and word before God and all the people" (*Luke* 24 : 19). Now this was Pontius Pilate, not Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee, who just happened to be in Jerusalem at the time, and had no jurisdiction there.

Morawski's point is so well taken and of such capital importance that it may be well to labour it a bit. No one living in Rome would dream of fixing the date of the crucifixion, especially a hundred years or so after the event, by saying that it happened under Pontius Pilate. Imperial Rome always dated events from the time that she was founded, A.U.C., or by giving the names of her rulers for the time being, kings, consuls, or emperors. The name of an obscure governor of a remote province would have signified nothing to a Roman, and could never serve to fix a date. On the other hand, Pontius Pilate was the concrete embodiment of supreme power in Judea, and anything happening during his term of office would be spoken of as taking place under him. So St Luke places the beginning of the Baptist's ministry in the time when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea, though to fix the date more exactly he tells us it was the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar.

On this point there are some interesting remarks in

The Journal of Theological Studies for October, 1904, pp. 112, 113 :

" In a note dictated to my pupils ", writes J. Herbert Bindley, " in 1893, I observed that the name of Pilate locates the Creed as well as dates the Crucifixion, for the name of the local Roman Governor would be of interest only in the district where he had jurisdiction. . . . I was delighted to find from Dr Sanday's article in the *J.T.S.* iii, 20 (Oct. 1901) that the same conclusion had been reached by Marion Morawski in the *Zeitschrift fur Kath. Theologie*, 1895. It is true that Dr Sanday hesitates to accept this view. But a longer residence in the ' provinces ' has only confirmed me in my opinion. Our Colonists always and most naturally date events by the name of their local governor. Thus the hurricane that struck Barbados in 1898 will always be referred to as having occurred in the time of Sir James Hay ; and in St Vincent the recent eruptions of the Soufrière will be remembered as happening under the administratorship of Mr Cameron and the governorship of Sir Robert Llewellyn. . . . Dr Sanday admits that it is probable enough that the phrase, which had become a standing formula, assumed this character in Palestine. I would venture to go further, and say that before St Paul set out on his first missionary journey in A.D. 46, there was already a Baptismal Confession more or less definitely formulated in Syria, which St Paul carried with him and taught to his converts at their baptism ".

St Paul, as we have seen, attests that the first Roman converts made their profession of faith at baptism in terms of an " outline of teaching " which was no other than this Baptismal Confession. It is obvious to remark that an outline of teaching which serves as a Baptismal Confession must, from the nature of the case, be definitely formulated—not

more or less so. "Faith", says Tertullian, "is set in a Rule"—*Fides in regula posita est*, and a rule is nothing if not definite.

Dr Sanday's words are: "But it does not follow that the Creed itself was written in Palestine. In 1 *Tim.* vi. 13 we have St Paul, writing far away from Palestine, and to one who was not himself a native of Palestine, and yet making use of the same mode of dating; which also occurs three times in Ignatius, and repeatedly in Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian. Clearly the phrase had become a standing formula; and it is probable enough that it assumed this character in Palestine. But it must have already done so when St Paul wrote to Timothy"[1].

Precisely. Had Dr Sanday stopped to reflect that both Irenæus[2] and Tertullian[3] cite the phrase in question as part of the Creed in their day, he would have realized the significance of his own statement. The phrase had become a standing formula as being embodied in a standing formula—the Creed, and as such was known also to Justin and Ignatius[4]. But the latter was the disciple of St John, who brought with him from Palestine this standing formula. True, it does not follow that the Creed was written in Palestine, but it may well follow that it was composed there. In fact, we know for certain that the Creed was not put in writing till the fourth century. But the "good confession" which Timothy "confessed before many witnesses" suggests to St Paul a phrase that had become part of a standing formula, and he fairly sets it down—"under Pontius Pilate". No other "confession" made at baptism and containing that phrase has come down to us from those early

[1] *J.T.S.*, Oct. 1901, p. 20. [2] Bk 3, c. 4, n. 2.
[3] *De Virg. Vel.*, c. 1. [4] Cf. Chap. V, sect. xi.

times, or has ever been recognized by Christians, save the time-honoured Confession of Faith known as the Symbol of the Apostles.

It may be urged against all this that the authors of the Creed had no intention of giving the date of the crucifixion, but merely wished to indicate that Pontius Pilate was the judge by whom Christ was condemned. That, however, is not what the phrase "sub *Pontio Pilato*" signifies at all. Its meaning is as unmistakable in the Latin of the time as is that of "sub Nerone", "sub Domitiano", "sub Valente". The other meaning would have to be expressed by some such phrase as "judicante Pontio Pilato", "a Pontio Pilato ad necem damnatus". This appears even more plainly from the original Greek, which has ἐπί Ποντίου Πιλάτου. Now ἐπί with the genitive, in such a connection, means, and can only mean, "in the days of". Beyond question what it gives us is the note of time. Cf. *Acts* 11 : 28 ; *Mark* 2 : 26 ; *Luke* 2 : 4 ; 5 : 27.

To demonstrate the Judean origin of the Creed is to establish the authorship of it by the Twelve Apostles. Only by their supreme authority could a Baptismal Confession and Rule of Faith be formulated in Judea ; only by them could a Creed of Judean origin be made to bind the Christian conscience in Imperial Rome and to the ends of the earth. Already in the second century the Creed of Christian Churches everywhere was one and the same. "To this Rule", says Irenæus, "consent many nations of the barbarians, those I mean who believe in Christ, having salvation written by the Spirit in their hearts, without paper and ink, and diligently keeping the old Tradition". And again : "Thus while the languages of the world

differ, the tenor of the Tradition is one and the same. And neither have the Churches situated in the regions of Germany believed otherwise, nor do they hold any other Tradition, neither in the parts of Spain, nor among the Celts, nor in Egypt, nor in Libya, nor those that are situated in the middle parts of the world ".

Out of the welter of controversy which historical criticism has stirred up about the Creed, the ancient tradition of its Apostolic authorship emerges triumphant. Before St Paul ever set foot in Rome there was " an outline of teaching " which was delivered to the Roman neophytes on the day of their baptism. It was the Old Roman Creed ; the Creed which the Roman Church " learned ", not made, as Tertullian tells us ; the Symbol of the Apostles ; " the Faith once delivered to the saints ".

CHAPTER XII

RECENT WRITINGS ON THE CREED

I

Irenæus and the Rule of Truth.—Following the Danish writer, S. A. Becker, Valdemar Ammundsen seeks to show that the Rule of Truth in Irenæus is not the Creed at all, but either the Scriptures or the main content of the Scriptures. He cites Irenæus, *Adv. Haer*, I, ix. 4; xxii. 1; xxvii. 1; xxviii. 1; xxxv. 3; III, i. 1; ii. 1; iv. 1; v. 1; xi. 1; xi. 7; xii. 6; IV, xxv. 5. Of this last passage he says: "In this clearest of all passages the Rule of Truth is the Words of God contained in the Scripture (A.T. and N.T.)". He maintains that the Rule of Truth "primarily is not an institution, a formula, or a book; it is Christianity itself, the genuine Apostolic Christianity . . . never does Irenæus call the tradition Rule of Truth" (p. 579)[1].

The question that chiefly concerns us is not what Irenæus means by the Rule of Truth, but whether he knew of a Baptismal Confession of Faith in twelve articles which he traces back to the Apostles, and which has ever been known as the Symbol of the Apostles or the Apostles' Creed. That this question must be answered in the affirmative has been abundantly proved in the course of this work. It remains

[1] *The Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1912, pp. 574-80.

only to deal with the special issue raised by Ammundsen.

It may be admitted that the expression "Rule of Truth" is one of wide and somewhat variable import in Irenæus. But that it always signifies the Scriptures or main content of the Scriptures, and never at all Tradition—this is simply not so. The passage to which the reference is given in the first place runs: "So he who keeps the unchanging Rule of Truth, which he got through baptism [the aorist indicates the single moment of baptism, when the Creed was confessed by the catechumen] will indeed know these words, and phrases, and parables out of the Scriptures". That is to say, he who adheres to the Faith once delivered to the Saints, which is summed up in the Creed, will be able to discern the true meaning of Scripture. Baptism did not bestow the Scripture, but it bestowed the Creed, the contents of which Irenæus proceeds to give a few lines further on, as set forth on page 65. If the writer in the *J.T.S.* had read on a little further he would have seen that the reference to the Creed is explicit.

In I, xxii. 1, we read: "But as we hold the Rule of Truth, *i.e.*, that there is one God Almighty who made all things by His Word, and made them out of nothing, as the Scripture says . . . All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing". Here again the Rule of Truth is the Creed, of which the first article is cited. The Scripture does but bear out or confirm the Creed.

In II, xxv. 1, we have, not Rule of Truth, but "rule" simply. There is question neither of the Creed nor of the Scriptures.

In II, xxvii. 1, Rule of Truth means the right

interpretation of Scripture by the aid especially of the context. In the next passage (II, xxviii. 1) the truth itself is called a " rule ".

In III, i ; ii. 1 ; v. 1, Irenæus appeals expressly to the " Old Tradition of the Apostles ", *viz.*, the Creed and the whole deposit of doctrine handed down from the Apostles. " For from no others ", he declares, " have we learned the plan of our salvation than from those through whom the Gospel came to us ; which, indeed, they preached at that time, but afterwards by God's will delivered to us in the Scriptures ". Then (c. 2) he says that when the heretics of his day were confuted out of the Scriptures they appealed to an alleged secret tradition. He cites against them (c. 3) " the tradition of the Apostles made known in all the world ", and especially the " tradition of the Church of Rome . . . which proclaims one God Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth ". Then (c. 4) he tells us of the " many nations of the barbarians who believed in Christ without paper and ink". It will hardly be contended that they received the Scriptures thus. He proceeds to show (n. 2) how those who hold the faith, " without letters, stop their ears ", and would not pay the slightest heed to what the heretics say ; after which (c. 5) he returns to the argument from the Scripture. Both Scripture and Tradition agree in affirming the oneness of God the Creator, who by His Word made all things (*Ibid.*, xi.).

The passage referred to in Book IV runs : " But we who follow one only true God as our Teacher, having His Words as the Rule of Truth, all affirm the same concerning them, knowing one God, Maker of this universe, who sent the prophets, who led His people out of the land of Egypt, who in these last

days hath manifested His Son to confound the unbelieving and seek the fruit of righteousness" (*Ibid.*, xxxv. 4)[1]. There is question here, not of "His Words" as contained in the Scriptures only, for the Creed and traditional teaching of the Church made known "One God", as "Maker of the Universe".

The simple truth is, then, that Irenæus never makes the Scriptures only his Rule of Truth, but appeals now to the Scriptures, now to the Church, now to the Tradition; and that in the first passage cited by Ammundsen his Rule of Truth is the Creed, or Baptismal Confession of Faith, of which he mentions all the Articles but the seventh.

II

The Old Roman Creed.—Under this heading there is a very interesting article in *The Journal of Theological Studies* for July 1922, from the pen of Dr E. J. Badcock. Especially noteworthy is his contention, strongly supported, that the Creed of Marcellus of Ancyra is an Eastern Creed. "The argument", he observes, "that the Creed of Marcellus is too simple to be Eastern is untenable". It rests on the false assumption that there was in the East no unwritten Creed.

On many counts, however, Dr Badcock's article is open to criticism. One is his assertion that the Old Roman Creed of the fourth century took the place of a primitive one that was much shorter. I quote:

"But if we accept the Creed given by Rufinus as the primitive Creed of Rome, we find ourselves faced with a multitude of seemingly casual and fortuitous

[1] The text in Migne has no n. 5.

variations, none of them possessing doctrinal significance and all of them unaccountable.

"Thus Rufinus gives 'Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine'; Ambrose and Augustine (*Serm.* 212, 214) 'ex Virgine Maria'; Augustine (*Serm.* 213) and Phoebadius 'Conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto natus ex Maria Virgine'; Priscillian 'natus ex Maria Virgine ex Spiritu Sancto', and this strange order finds support in the address on the Nicene Creed in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* (ed. Wilson, p. 55), 'Hic Unigenitus Dei de Maria Virgine et Spiritu Sancto secundum carnem natus ostenditur'.

"In the next article Rufinus has 'crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus'; Augustine (*Serm.* 212, 213, 214) 'passus sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus'; Ambrose and Phoebadius agree with this, but Ambrose omits 'mortuus' and in Phoebadius its presence is doubtful.

"In the fifth article Rufinus, Ambrose, Augustine (*Serm.* 213), and Victricius read 'tertia die resurrexit a mortuis', but in Augustine (*Serm.* 212, 214), 'a mortuis' is omitted, as it is by Caesarius. In the next clause Rufinus and Priscillian read 'ascendit in coelos'; Ambrose and Augustine (*Serm.* 212, 213, 214) 'in coelum'; Caesarius 'in coelo'; Phoebadius 'adsumtum in coelum'.

"Finally Rufinus gives 'judicare vivos et mortuos', Augustine (*Serm.* 213), Priscillian, Venantius Fortunatus and the Mozarabic Liturgy *judicaturus*.

"Such arbitrary variations cannot fail to suggest that the standard creed from which these others are derived did not possess these words at all".—*Ibid.*, p. 379.

We have seen Harnack measuring creeds with a

tapeline. Badcock examines them under a microscope, and so magnifies unduly minute points of difference. Surely it is the meaning that matters, not the precise words in which it is expressed. Rufinus, Ambrose, Augustine, and the rest attest the existence in their day of a Baptismal Confession of Faith in twelve articles; what difference does the slight variation in the wording of the several articles make? "Non opus est ut verba numeretis, sed appendatis," says St Augustine in the recovered conclusion of *Serm.* 213—"You don't need to count the words; weigh their meaning and ponder them". This is common sense.

But let us examine more closely Dr Badcock's statements. In *Serm.* 212, 214, Augustine has not "ex Virg. Maria", but (212) "de Sp. S. et Maria virgine", (so in the MSS), and (214) "de Sp. S. et virgine Maria"; in *Serm.* 213, "Qui conceptus est de Sp. S., natus ex virgine Maria". This addition of "conceptus", however, came in later than St Augustine's time; whence we may infer either that the Sermon is not Augustine's, or, as may seem more probable, was tampered with by some scribe after "conceptus" became part of the Creed[1].

The statement of the second paragraph that the words "passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus" are to be found in *Serm.* 212, 213, 214 of St Augustine is inaccurate. It is true that in *Serm.* 213, as given in Migne, the fourth article is so worded, but, as we shall see, the text in Migne has been tampered with. In 212 and 214, on the other hand, there is no explicit citation of this article.

[1] After this was written I ran across the MS. of this Sermon discovered by Dom Morin.

But there is in *De Fide et Symbolo* (or, as Possidius has it, *De Fide vel Symbolo*), where the words run as in Rufinus. It is rather strange that the writer ignores the text of the Creed contained in this standard work, where we have explicit citations. The words " a mortuis ", of the fifth article, omitted in *Serm.* 212, 214, appear in *De Fide et Symbolo*, an exposition of the Creed at once precise and authoritative. In his sermons the Saint does not always give the exact words of the Creed, as indeed he does not profess to do.

When we consider that the Creed was not first given in writing, nor handed on in writing to the Fathers and Doctors of the fourth century and of the fifth, the wonder is there is such agreement among them as to its content. In all we find a formula of twelve articles, each article embodying a distinct truth of revelation, one and the same in all. The slight verbal differences are just such as we should expect where the Creed was a form of words learned by heart and repeated from memory. " If any err in word ", is the admonition of St Augustine in the recovered conclusion of *Serm.* 213, " let him not err in faith ".

The same undue importance attached to these slight verbal differences appears also in Badcock's affirmation that " Regula fidei is not the same as Symbolum; if it were Tertullian could not assert 'una omnino est' (it is absolutely one)". As if the oneness of the Creed depended on identity in words! Tertullian, as we have seen, never gives the exact words of the Symbol, being kept from doing so by the law of secrecy so rigidly enforced in his day.

Badcock thinks that the word " suffered " was in the early Roman Creed; that as "It meets us in the

creeds of Priscillian (c. 380), Gregory of Elvira (c. 370), Phoebadius of Agen (c. 360), Victricius of Rouen (c. 400), Ambrose of Milan (374-97), and Julian of Elcanum (386-454), this is a phenomenon only to be accounted for by derivation from Rome"[1]. Now, both Rufinus and Ambrose attest that the Roman Church ever kept her Creed unchanged. The word "passus" or "suffered" is clearly implied in "crucified" of the Old Roman Creed, and is found in the early Spanish and Gallican creeds cited by Badcock. But there is no evidence that it was in the Creed of Milan, which is the Old Roman, though Burn also says it was. The *Explanatio Symboli ad initiandos* is cited in proof. But it is not certain that St Ambrose is the author of this sermon, and even if it were, it is plain that interpolations have been made in the text. In the body of the discourse what we have is: "As from the Godhead of the Father and the Son we come to the incarnation of Him who was *born and buried*, you have His passion and burial." All that is here cited as part of the Creed is the birth and burial of the Son of God, *i.e.*, in brief, the third and fourth articles of the Creed.

In the second last paragraph of the text in Migne the Creed is given word for word, though the author himself tells us in the last paragraph it is not at all to be put in writing. The first article has the addition "Creator of heaven and earth", which was not in the Old Roman Creed at all, the third article is as we have it to-day, "who was conceived of the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary", which was not incorporated in the Roman Creed till long after the time of St Ambrose; and the fourth is introduced

[1] *An Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 204.

thus: "You have the incarnation of the Son, as I have said, *Suffered under Pontius Pilate and buried*, you have the passion and burial". What he did say (in the body of the discourse) was not *Suffered under Pontius Pilate and buried* (as here), but, "the incarnation of Him who was *born and buried*, you have the passion and burial", *i.e.*, the "passion", not in the Creed, but implied in "buried". Plainly the whole paragraph is a wretched interpolation, out of harmony with the rest of the sermon, and made at a time when "Creator of heaven and earth", "conceived of the Holy Ghost", and "suffered" had been incorporated in the Creed.

There is therefore no warrant for saying that "suffered" was in the Creed of Milan, which was the Old Roman pure and simple, as the author of the *Explanatio* assures us: "For we hold", he says, "the Creed of the Roman Church".

At page 382, Badcock writes: "There is, then, no positive evidence that the creed of Africa was ever in verbal agreement with that of Rome, while in its complete form as given by Augustine it differs from that given by Rufinus, both in outstanding features showing similarity to Eastern formulae, and in minute variations, too many and arbitrary to allow of its being regarded as its probable basis".

It is not the words but the meaning that matters. But if there is no positive evidence that the African Creed was in verbal agreement with the Roman, neither is there positive evidence that it wasn't. What is more, there is a very strong presumption of such agreement in the fact that St Augustine expounds to the Bishops of Africa in council assembled a Creed which is article for article and word for word

(save for one or two trivial differences) identical with the Roman Creed as cited by Rufinus. The form given by the Saint in his genuine sermons, as we shall presently see, differs in no wise from this Creed.

Tertullian also witnesses to the agreement of the Roman with the African Creed. The passage in which he does so has been dealt with elsewhere: "Videamus quid didicerit, quid docuerit, cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesseravit". He answers his own question, as we have seen, citing the first and second articles of the Creed and the last, which is "the resurrection of the flesh", as in the Roman Creed. Badcock has a curious translation, or rather paraphrase, of this passage: "Let us see what has been the teaching of the Church of Rome wherein she has agreed not only with the churches of Africa ('cum Africanis *quoque* ecclesiis') but with all orthodox churches throughout the world". By no canon of interpretation can this meaning be got out of Tertullian's words. It is true there are so many various readings it is impossible to say how the words ran originally. But the choice appears to lie between "quid cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesseravit", and "cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesseravit" or as in Migne, "contessarit". Both affirm agreement of the African Church with the Roman in the "tessera" or Symbol of the Faith, the latter implying that the African Church got her Symbol from the Roman, as indeed is all but certain, there being a consensus of historians to-day that the former was so dependent on the latter, at least for its organization, that it must be regarded as a daughter[1]. What Tertullian says is that the Church of Rome

[1] Monceaux, *Hist. Litt. de l'Afrique Chretienne*, Paris, 1901.

first " learned " what she taught, and that was the the Symbol or Creed. He uses " learned " advisedly to indicate the way the Roman Church got her Creed, not by composing it herself, but by receiving it from the Apostles; not from writings, but by word of mouth and by heart. Badcock leaves out the word which is the key to the meaning of the passage. For Tertullian's testimony is that the Roman Church first sat at the feet of the Apostles and from them learned the Creed which she taught also to her African daughters.

Finally, the writer in the *J.T.S.* cites what he calls the creed of the Gelasian Sacramentary as confirming his contention that the primitive Roman Creed was shorter than that given by Rufinus; that it began with " I believe in God Almighty ", and contained the word " suffered ". I translate from the text:

" Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty? "
" Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ His only Son Our Lord, who was born and suffered."
" Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, holy Church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh? "

This is the baptismal interrogatory, not the Creed. It was in use from the earliest times, side by side with the Creed, and is still in use, though the additions made to these articles of the Creed have been also made to the interrogatory. The four articles on the resurrection, ascension, session at the right hand of the Father, and the coming again in judgment are still to-day omitted from this formula, though the Creed as cited by Irenæus and Tertullian is there to show that they were never omitted from it. And the third and fourth articles are still set down as tersely

as in the Gelasian Sacramentary—" who was born and suffered for us ". For the rest, the interrogatory itself bears witness that the first article of the Roman Creed was not " I believe in God Almighty ", for the word " Father " stands there.

III

Sermons on the Creed.—In the *Dict. de Theol. Catholique* (Vol. I, col. 1,665), Battifol cites Hahn as saying that St Augustine sets forth the Creed of Milan and of Rome in *Serm.* 212, 213, 214, but that *Serm.* 215 is a commentary on the African Creed. Battifol adds : " It is very remarkable that, even in Africa, St Augustine takes the Roman Symbol for his commentary instead of the African ". Similarly, Badcock observes: " If we desire to obtain the form of the African Creed, we must turn to Augustine's *Serm.* 215, supplemented by Cyprian's letter, and there we find that it differs so widely from the Roman Creed as given by Rufinus that it is highly improbable that it was ever derived from it ".[1]

Here is a problem that has baffled many inquirers. Happily it may now be solved.

Let us first turn to the authentic list of St Augustine's works left to us by Possidius, who was contemporary with Augustine, his biographer, and literary executor. It seems reasonable to believe that his list or " little index " as he calls it, contains all the writings of the Saint that were extant at his death. In a note appended to this list, part of which is unfortunately wanting, he says : " And so, the holy Bishop Augustine, impelled by the Spirit

[1] *The Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1922, p. 382.

of God, produced, for the instruction of the faithful, in the Catholic Church, books, tracts, and letters to the number of one thousand and thirty, besides works that cannot be numbered because he did not himself indicate their number". Just what these last words signify is not too clear, but I take them to mean that Possidius included in his list, all the writings of Augustine that came into his hands; all that the Saint himself had carefully preserved or deemed worth preserving.

Many sermons on the Creed have come down to us under the name of the great Bishop of Hippo. But there are only three in the list made by Possidius. From this it may fairly be inferred that the others are spurious. Which are the genuine three? There is little difficulty in deciding that the sermons numbered 212 and 214 are two of them. But critics have long been in doubt regarding the other two given as genuine in Migne's collection, *viz.*, 213 and 215. Thus Swainson in *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 161, says: "Unfortunately we are troubled with other sermons attributed with some uncertainty to the great writer; such as CCXIII and CCXV". The question, however, may now be considered as settled by Dom Morin's discovery of the true text of Sermon 213 in Codex Guelferbytanus 4,096, where it is to be found with many other hitherto unpublished sermons of St Augustine. Here it appears with a fine exordium altogether worthy of Augustine, which is wanting in Migne, and a short conclusion, also wanting in Migne, which is of a piece with the exordium. But what sets the matter at rest is the way articles three and four of the Creed are cited. In the text of Migne these run: "Who

was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary: and for us what? He suffered, are the words that follow [in the Creed] under Pontius Pilato, was crucified, died, and was buried". There is no better test of the genuineness of a document than the way it cites the Creed, and this form of words, on the face of it much later than the time of Augustine, led many to believe that the sermon was not his. Even Fulgentius, who flourished in Africa a full century later, cites these articles, just as they stand in Augustine and Rufinus: "For this reason in the Symbol we say also that the only Son of God Himself, whom we confess to have been born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, was crucified and buried". Now, in Codex Guelf. 4,096, the third article reads "who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary", and the fourth: "and what did He suffer for us? The words that follow [in the Creed] are: He was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried". It remains that *Serm.* 213 is Augustine's, and that the three sermons on the Creed listed by Possidius are 212, 213, and 214.

What, then, of *Serm.* 215? It, too, is found in Codex Guelf. 4,096, and is set down as genuine by Dom Morin. Yet the number three, all that Possidius knew of, is already complete with the recovery of the genuine text of *Serm.* 213. This creates a very strong presumption, to say the least, against the genuineness of *Serm.* 215. Intrinsic evidence advances the presumption to a certainty. In the three genuine sermons on the Creed, in *De Fide et Symbolo*, in the *Enchiridion*, St Augustine invariably places article ten, "holy Church", right after "the Holy Ghost", where it always has been. The author of *Serm.* 215

drops it from its rightful place and puts it at the end. Again, St Augustine always gives "resurrection of the flesh" as the last article of the Creed. But in *Serm.* 215 we have as the last "life everlasting", and that, too, included in a formula which is part of the interrogatory, not of the Creed, thus: "the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and life everlasting, through holy Church". The name of the man who penned these words in his commentary on the Creed was not Augustine.

Again though he copies Augustine's style very closely, he has some things that could never have been written by that great Doctor of the Church. Thus: "Let us also believe in the Holy Spirit. He is God; for it is written, *God is a spirit* (*John* 4 : 24)". Throw this into syllogistic form for tyros in logic to amuse themselves withal! God is a spirit; therefore the Holy Spirit is God! Very different is what we find in St Augustine (*Serm.* 214): "Know ye not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost who dwells in you? Not the temple of a creature, but of the Creator. Of course, we are not the temple of a creature, for the Apostle says: 'The temple of God is holy, which ye are'". No flaw in this! Again, in *De Fide et Symbolo*, St Augustine, combating the opinion that the Holy Ghost is not a Person but the Deity of the Father and the Son, says: "Wherefore, if there is mention of the Holy Ghost where it is affirmed that God is a spirit, they bid us consider that it is not said 'the Spirit is God' but 'God is a spirit'". The Saint does not dispute the justness of this remark upon the text, but simply insists that the appeal is not to reason, for that we must go by faith in this matter, and unfalteringly profess our

belief that "the Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Ghost is God" (col. 193).

Another instance of slipshod work is in the comment on the passion and burial of Christ: "*Greater love than this no man hath, that he lay down his life for his friends.* Think you there is none? Certainly not one. It is true. Christ has said it. Let us ask the Apostle and he will tell us. 'Christ' he says, 'died for sinners.' And again: 'When we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son'. Behold, then, in Christ we find greater love; for He gave up His life not for His friends but for His enemies". Here the trend of thought is true, but the statement of it is very clumsy. As it stands, the Apostle appears to contradict the Master, when it would have been so easy to show they were quite in agreement, by pointing out that after all Christ really died for His friends, or that the utmost man will do is to lay down his life for his friends, while God died upon the Cross for those who were at the time His enemies.

Who, then, is the author of this sermon that has so long gone under the name of Augustine? In the *Revue Bénédictine* (xxx. 156-62), Dom Morin presents a study of three sermons at one time attributed to St Augustine (Migne, tom. 40, cols. 637-68). He makes them out to be the work of Quodvultdeus, deacon of Carthage in the fifth century, who afterwards became Bishop of that See, and was "the friend and best imitator of Augustine, imitator so close that at times it is difficult to distinguish him from his model". But the learned Benedictine notes also that this most excellent imitator fails to maintain always the same high level, and occasionally lapses

into modes of thought and diction wholly unworthy of the great master. Augustine had many imitators in the latter part of the century which witnessed his demise, and the centuries immediately following. But he had no peer, and those who essayed to soar with the eagle were liable to falter on the wing and drop suddenly to earth.

In the same periodical for October, 1923, Dom Morin publishes the text of an unedited sermon on the Creed, of the fifth or sixth century, which he says has been attributed, but falsely, to Fulgentius. Now all of these five sermons, to wit, this hitherto unedited sermon, the three *ad Catechumenos*, and *Serm.* 215 have in common the peculiarity that they add "life everlasting" and make "holy Church" or "through holy Church" the last article of the Creed. Does not this create a presumption that all five are from the same pen, or at least from the same literary circle? At any rate, it is quite certain that they were produced after the time of St Augustine. And so the theory that he knew of an African Creed different from that of Milan and of Rome falls to the ground. There is no doubt that the formula "remission of sins, resurrection of the flesh, and life everlasting through holy Church" was taken over into the Creed from the baptismal interrogatory, probably to meet the Donatist error which ascribed the remission of sins to God without the intervention of the Church.

It will, I venture to think, interest the reader if I present the recovered text of *Serm.* 213 with an English translation. Both will be found in the appendix.

IV

Creed Forms.—I present here a number of creed-forms culled from commentaries and sermons of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, together with a literal translation, so that the reader may see for himself that the Creed was always a Confession of Faith in the same twelve articles, however much the forms may have differed in their wording.

THE CREED IN RUFINUS (b. A.D. 370), Migne, P. L., tome 21.

1. Credo in Deo Patre Omnipotente, invisibili et impassibili	1. I believe in God the Father Almighty, invisible and impassible
2. Et in Christo Jesu unico filio ejus Domino Nostro	2. And in Christ Jesus His only Son our Lord
3. Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine	3. Who was born of the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary
4. Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus, descendit ad inferna	4. Crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried, He descended into hell
5. Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis	5. Rose again the third day from the dead
6. Ascendit ad coelos	6. Ascended into heaven
7. Sedet ad dexteram Patris	7. Sitteth at the right hand of the Father
8. Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos	8. Thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead
9. Et in Spiritum Sanctum	9. And in the Holy Ghost
10. Sanctam Ecclesiam	10. Holy Church
11. Remissionem peccatorum	11. The remission of sins
12. Hujus carnis resurrectionem	12. Resurrection of this flesh.
Sed et ultimus sermo hic qui resurrectionem Carnis pronunciat.	This article which affirms the resurrection of the flesh is the last.

DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO	THE CREED IN DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO
1. Credentes itaque in Deum Patrem omnipotentem	1. Believing therefore in God the Father Almighty
2. Credimus etiam in Jesum Christum, Filium Dei Patris uni genitum, i.e. unicum, Dominum nostrum	2. We believe also in Jesus Christ, only-begotten Son of God the Father, Our Lord.
3. Credentes in eum Dei Filium qui natus est per Spiritum Sanctum ex Virgine Maria	3. Believing in that Son of God who was born by the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary
4. Credimus itaque in eum qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus	4. We believe therefore in Him who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried
5. Credimus etiam illum tertia die resurrexisse a mortuis	5. We believe also that He rose again the third day from the dead
6. Credimus in coelum ascendisse	6. We believe that He ascended into heaven

De Fide et Symbolo	The Creed in De Fide et Symbolo
7. Credimus etiam quod sedet ad dexteram Patris	7. We believe also that He sitteth at the right hand of the Father
8. Credimus etiam inde venturum convientissimo tempore et judicaturum vivos et mortuos	8. We believe also that He will thence come at the most suitable time and will judge the living and the dead
9. Fides inconcussa tenenda ut Deum dicamus Patrem, Deum Filium, Deum Spiritum Sanctum	9. With firmest faith we must hold that the Father is God, the Son God, the Holy Ghost God.
10. Credimus et sanctam ecclesiam utique Catholicam	10. We believe the holy Church, Catholic of course
11. Itaque credimus et remissionem peccatorum	11. We therefore believe also the remission of sins
12. Et ideo credimus et carnis resurrectionem	12. And so we believe also the resurrection of the flesh.
Haec est fides quae paucis verbis tenenda in Symbolo novellis christianis datur.	This is the Faith which, in a few words, to be held in the Creed is given to newly converted Christians.

The Creed in Serm. 212

1. Ut credatis in Deum Patrem omnipotentum, invisibilem, immortalem, regem saeculorum, visibilium et invisibilium creatorem	1. That you may believe in God the Father Almighty, invisible, immortal, King of ages, Creator of things visible and invisible
2. Not expressly cited	2. Not expressly cited
3. Natus de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine	3. Born of the Holy Ghost and Mary the Virgin
4. Qui passus est sub Pontio Pilato qui crucifixus est et sepultus	4. That He suffered under Pontius Pilate that He was crucified and buried
5. die tertio resurrexit	5. rose again the third day
6. ascendit in coelum	6. ascended into heaven
7. sedet ad dexteram Patris	7. sitteth at the right hand of the Father
8. Venturus est judicare vivos et mortuous	8. will come to judge the living and the dead
9. Not expressly cited	9. Not expressly cited
10. Not given	10. Not given
11. Not expressly cited	11. Not expressly cited
12. Sperate in finem corporum vestrorum resurrectionem.	12. Look at the last for the "resurrection of your bodies."

The Creed in Serm. 214

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem	1. I believe in God the Father Almighty.
2. Credimus in Jesum Christum, filium Dei Patris unicum, Dominum nostrum	2. We believe in Jesus Christ, only Son of God the Father, our Lord
3. Credimus quod natus sit de Spiritu Sancto et virgine Maria	3. We believe that He was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary
4. crucifixus est; carne sepultus, est Additur sub Pontio Pilato	4. He was crucified; was buried in the flesh. It is added under Pontius Pilate
5. Tertio die resurrexit in carne vera	5. Rose again the third day in real flesh

THE CREED IN SERM. 214

6. ascendit in coelum	6. ascended into heaven
7. nunc sedet ad dexteram Patris	7. now sits at the Father's right hand
8. ad judicandum vivos mortuosque venturus est	8. will come to judge the living and the dead
9. Credimus etiam in Spiritum Sanctum	9. We believe also in the Holy Ghost
10. Sanctam quoque ecclesiam	10. likewise holy Church
11. per sanquinem Christi operante Spiritu Sancto fiat remissio peccatorum	11. through the blood of Christ and by the operation of the Holy Ghost is wrought the remission of sins
12. sed nec de ista carne quod resurrectura sit in saeculi fine dubitare debemus	12. nor should we doubt as to this flesh that it will rise again at the end of the world.

THE CREED IN SERM. 215

1. Credere nos in Deum Patrem omnipotentem universorum creatorem, immortalem et invisibilem	1. That we believe in God the Father Almighty, creator of all things, immortal and invisible
2. Credimus in Filium ejus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum	2. We believe also in His Son our Lord Jesus Christ
3. natum de Spiritu Sancto ex virgine Maria	3. born of the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary
4. crucifixus etiam, mortuus et sepultus Non credis? Dicis forte quando? . . . Audi quo tempore: sub Pontio Pilato	4. crucified also, died, and was buried You don't believe? You ask perhaps when? Hear at what time: under Pontius Pilate
5. Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis	5. Rose again the third day from the dead
6. ascendit ad coelos	6. ascended to heaven
7. sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris	7. sits at the right hand of God the Father
8. inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos	8. will come thence to judge the living and the dead
9. Credimus et in Spiritum Sanctum	9. We believe in the Holy Ghost
11. remissionem peccatorum	11. the remission of sins
12. carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam	12. the resurrection of the flesh and life everlasting
10. Per sanctam ecclesiam	10. Through holy Church.

CHAPTER XIII

MEETING OBJECTIONS

I

Dr Schaff Holds a Brief.—At page 23 of the first volume of his *Creeds of Christendom*[1], Dr Schaff sums up the case against the Apostolic authorship of the Creed. "After having first been called in question by Laurentius Valla, Erasmus, Calvin, the apostolic origin", he tells us, "has been so clearly disproved long since by Vossius, Rivetus, Voetius, Usher, Bingham, Pearson, King, Walch, and other scholars, that it ought never to be seriously asserted again". The arguments which those critics have brought forward he finds "quite conclusive". Let us review them one by one:

1. The intrinsic improbability of such a mechanical composition. It has no analogy in the history of symbols; even when composed by committees or synods, they are mainly the production of one mind. The Apostles' Creed is no piece of mosaic, but an organic unit, an instinctive work of art in the same sense as the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the *Te Deum*, and the classical prayers and hymns of the Church.

This objection strikes at the legend which assigns to each of the Apostles a distinct article as his contribution to the common Creed. As against the

[1] Fourth Edition Revised and Enlarged (Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1899).

legend it has much weight, though it is not altogether conclusive; for, after all, highly unlikely and out of keeping with analogy as the thing appears, no one can say that the Symbol could not in fact have been composed in that way. But the legend, as has been pointed out elsewhere, is one thing; the tradition is quite another. And it is not to the credit of historical criticism that it should have bundled the two together. The legend dates from the seventh or eighth century, and finds its fitting source in a sermon falsely attributed to St Augustine; the tradition, as has been shown in the course of this work, mounts up to the apostolic age. It is quite true, as Schaff says, or rather reasons out from analogy, that the Creed is "mainly the production of one mind", for the Apostles had but one mind in the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who is the real Author of the Symbol.

II

The Fallacy of Silence again.—2. The silence of the Scriptures. Some advocates indeed pretend to find allusions to the Creed in Paul's "analogy" or "proportion of faith", *Rom.* xii. 7; "the first principles of the oracles of God", *Heb.* v. 12; "the faith once delivered to the saints", *Jude* ver. 3; and "the doctrine", 2 *John*, ver. 10; but these passages can easily be explained without such assumption.

3. The silence of the Apostolic Fathers and all the ante-Nicene and Nicene Fathers and synods. Even the Œcumenical Council of Nicaea knows nothing of a symbol of strictly apostolic composition, and would not have dared to supersede it by another.

These two objections grow out of the same root. They rest on the common basis of silence. Here, too,

are lumped together, in most uncritical fashion, things that should have been kept carefully separate. We must distinguish the Creed and the tradition of its origin ; again, in the Creed itself, the doctrine and the form of words in which it is embodied. The ante-Nicene Fathers are not silent about the tradition. On the contrary, they affirm it, Irenæus and Tertullian explicitly and repeatedly, others, such as Clement of Alexandria, equivalently and by implication. As for the Creed itself, it is true that no writer of the second or third century sets it before us in the very phrase. But Irenæus and Tertullian give us the contents of it, article by article, in their own words, the one supplying what the other omits. Other writers, like the same Clement, allude to it and " attempt, while concealing yet to declare, and though hiding to manifest, and though silent to point out ". Such silence as this is an eloquent silence, eloquent of affirmation, not of denial. It is a silence that says yes, while seeming to say no. Such, too, is the silence of Scripture, so far forth as Scripture is silent. It is a silence that is suggestive of a settled policy followed from the first, a policy that was carried out by a rigorous enforcement of the Discipline of the Secret. But Scripture is not silent as to the existence of the Creed. The point, however, has been fully dealt with elsewhere. Finally, nothing could be truer than that the Nicene Fathers would not have dared to supersede the Apostolic Symbol by another. But what of that ? The Nicene Symbol is not " another " Symbol. It is still the same ancient formulary, with such added words as bring out more clearly and fully the true meaning of it. See Chap. V.

III

Two More-Worthless Pleas.—4. The variety in form of the various rules of faith in the ante-Nicene churches, and of the Apostolic Symbol itself down to the eighth century. This fact is attested even by Rufinus, who mentions the points in which the Creed of Aquileia differed from that of Rome. Such variations in the form of the Creed forbid the supposition of any fixed system of words, recognized and received as the composition of the Apostles; for no one, surely, would have felt at liberty to alter any such normal scheme of faith (Dr Nevin).

This objection, too, has been anticipated. As for the observation of Dr Nevin, the value of it may be gauged by the fact that at the very time the whole Christian world recognized and received the Creed as the composition of the Apostles, not one only but many, whole Churches, indeed, felt at liberty to alter the form of it, and did alter it. They knew full well it was not the words that mattered but the meaning. To alter the wording or add to it was not to add to "the normal scheme of faith".

5. The fact that the Apostles' Creed never had any general currency in the East, where the Nicene Creed occupies its place, with an almost equal claim to apostolicity as far as the substance is concerned.

The alleged "fact" has been shown to be a fiction. It is of the Nicene Creed Epiphanius says, "This Formula of Faith was handed down to us by the holy Apostles, and prescribed in the holy city by all the Bishops, in number three hundred and eighteen[1]".

[1] *Ancor.*, 116. See Chap. V., Sect XIII.

IV

Safety.—It is urged by a writer of our own day that we cannot be certain of the Apostolic composition of the Creed, and so cannot safely affirm it. The word "safely" is to be noted. It implies that the constant tradition of the Church, from the second century down, is not a safe thing to go by. We should have thought, on the contrary, the unsafe course to be to run counter to such a tradition. "We can find", says the Anglican Pullan, "nothing extravagant in the belief of the fourth century that the Apostles' Creed really came down from the apostles". (*The Christian Tradition*, p. 43). So far, indeed, from being extravagant, the belief is in strict accord with the great Catholic principle laid down by St Augustine: "That which is accepted by the whole Church and has not been instituted by Councils, but has always been held, is most rightly regarded as the tradition of the Apostles".

In the Gelasian Sacramentary, which contains the rites used during the early ages of the Church in the administration of the sacraments, are cited the words addressed to the catechumens when the Creed was about to be delivered to them, "Receive", it was said to them, "as a secret to be religiously kept, the Evangelical Symbol, inspired by the Lord, instituted by the Apostles, which comprises, in a few words, mighty mysteries. For in these brief sentences did the Holy Spirit, who dictated them to the first pastors of the Church, embody the life-giving Faith . . . With attentive minds, therefore, learn the Symbol, and what we deliver unto you even as we have received

do you engrave, not on any corruptible material, but on the tablets of your heart". Here we have the belief of the early Church touching the authorship of the Creed. Here, too, we have the official teaching of the Roman Church, the Mother and Mistress of Churches, on the same point; for the rites contained in the Gelasian Sacramentary were instituted with the sanction and by the authority of the Popes of Rome. It was the belief of the faithful in those early times, it was the official teaching of the Roman Church in those early times, that the Creed was instituted by the Apostles, inspired by the Lord, dictated by the Holy Spirit. To-day we are told that we cannot safely affirm, we cannot safely teach, this thing. To be "safe" to-day we have to fling to all the winds the age-long and universal tradition of the Church regarding the origin of her Creed, and to follow in the footsteps of men who make mock of Apostolical Tradition as a vehicle of truth. But if, in deference to these men, we set aside the traditional belief of the Church regarding the Apostolic authorship of the Creed, we are bound in logical consistency to set aside also the traditional belief of the Church regarding the divine institution of the seven sacraments, the validity of infant baptism, the genuineness and divine inspiration of Second Peter and the Epistle to the Hebrews. In matter of fact, the tradition as to the origin of the Creed, is far more constant, more clearly traceable, more widespread in the early Church than is the tradition on any of the three points last mentioned. And it is a dogmatic tradition, for the Creed it affirmed to have been inspired by the Lord and dictated by the Holy Ghost. Such a tradition as this has a special claim upon Catholic writers. And apart from

this special claim it founds a presumption of the truth of what it affirms which yields only to clear and positive evidence. That which it vouches for remains in possession until the contrary is proved to a certainty.

Now do those who call in question the Apostolic origin of the Creed bring forward any positive evidence? No, not one particle. Are they able to trace the Creed to some Council, or to some author or authors other than the Apostles? No. Can they cite one writer in the first five centuries who denies the Apostolic authorship of the Creed? Not one. On the contrary, every writer who refers to the matter, from the fifth to the second century inclusive, affirms the Creed to have been composed by the Apostles. Why, then, do they call in question the Apostolic composition of the Creed? Because they follow the methods of a school of criticism which rejects tradition, even when that tradition is apostolic and divine, a school which holds contemporaneous documents to be the sole source of all that we can know about the past.

V

Creed Development.—"Modern apologists, in defending the claim to apostolicity, extend it to the old Roman form (R), and are somewhat hampered by the objection that if R had been really held to be the inspired utterance of the Apostles, it would not have been modified at pleasure by various local churches (Rufinus, for example, testifies to such expansion in the case of the Church of Aquileia,) and in particular would never have been entirely supplanted by T, our existing form".

Here is forgetfulness of what is a cardinal principle of Catholic theology, namely, the development of doctrine. But first of all we must observe that the phrase "modified at pleasure" is thoroughly misleading. To modify means "to change more or less in character", or again, "to make more moderate or less sweeping". In neither of these senses was the Creed affected by the words added to it. Nor were the words added "at pleasure". The slight additions made to the Creed were designed in every instance to meet heretical denial of one or other of its articles, or to define more clearly the meaning of an article. Instead of being "modified at pleasure", it underwent development through the influence of local environment, but ever on the lines of Scripture and Tradition. Thus Rufinus himself tells us that the words "invisible and impassible", added to the first article in the Church of Aquileia, struck at the Patripassian heresy, which made the first person of the Trinity to have been born of a Virgin or at least to have suffered for us. These words, never adopted in other Churches, were dropped in the Church of Aquileia itself when the heresy against which they were directed met the fate of all heresies—gradual extinction. On the other hand, the words "He descended into hell", added also at Aquileia, have been everywhere adopted because they express a truth of faith that holds always and everywhere—a truth, as Rufinus points out, plainly set forth in Scripture, but only implied in the word "buried" of the Creed.

By the seventh or beginning of the eighth century the Creed had developed into its present form. Of course the developed Creed, that is to say, the text of

the Symbol together with the explanatory notes that were incorporated with it, still continued to be known as the Apostles' Creed and to be traced back to the Apostles. And surely with reason, for was not its whole framework and structure Apostolic ? It still set forth the fundamental tenets of Christian belief in twelve articles ; it was still, as St Leo the Great says of it in the fifth century, recognizable as Apostolic by having the Apostolic number of articles ; and it still preserved the same order of the articles as of old. It was no new Creed ; it was the old Creed of the Church, unchanging as she is, but bearing upon it some few marks of its contact with the living minds of men down through the ages. No one would dream of ascribing the construction of an old-world cathedral, say that of York or of Canterbury, to other than the original architect because of some slight repairs or additions made to it in the course of the centuries. Nor does the stately cedar of Lebanon cease to be the same tree because a few shoots spring through time from the old stem. The writer speaks of the ancient Creed as having been " entirely supplanted " by the existing Creed. As if a tree supplanted itself in putting forth a new shoot, or breaking into leaf or blossom! Even if a new article had been added to the Creed, to say that the later supplanted the earlier form would be a grotesque misuse of words. The addition of an article would have been but the grafting of another branch on the ancient stock.

The writer appears to have borrowed from Harnack the idea that the existing Creed has supplanted the ancient Creed of the Church. Harnack, in fact, at page 10, uses the very word. But later he changes the metaphor in which the idea is garbed. He says

that " the Roman Church after the beginning of the sixth century gradually let itself be separated from and finally robbed of the Symbol which it had previously guarded so faithfully " (pp. 80-81). The ancient Symbol is here likened to a treasure, or rather, let us say, to a necklace of pearls which the Church wore constantly till the close of the fifth century. Then she is supposed to have put it off, to have laid it aside, to have grown careless of it, so that finally thieves broke in and stole it from her. The metaphor is picturesque but mendacious. The Church to this day wears the Strand of Twelve Pearls, fashioned by the Creative Spirit which she got as a wedding-gift from her Divine Spouse. Each pearl is in its place, not one is lost, not one has been added, the setting is slightly altered—that is all. The strand is longer than it was in the fifth century, for the Church of the living God is a living organism, growing and expanding after the manner of all living organisms. But the pearls are the self-same, and every one is a pearl of great price. *The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a householder who brings forth from his treasure things new and old.* Yea, verily, " new and old ", for the new are old, and the old new —the handiwork all of Him whose beauty is ever ancient and ever new. There is not a fibre or filament in the lengthened strand of the existing Creed but is wrought out of the original material ; not a single idea embodied in the Creed of to-day but results from the unfolding of the aboriginal and germinal ideas. Those who maintain the contrary view the Creed, not as theologians, not even as artists, but as mechanics. They fix their eyes upon the outer framework of it, examine it bit by bit, count up the new bits inserted

in it, and pronounce it a new Creed, whose symbol to the initiated in their craft is T (Textus Receptus,) while the symbol of the ancient Creed is R (Roman, short for Old Roman Creed.) The men of old measured creeds by their meaning, by the number of faith-articles they contained, and so saw even in the Nicene Creed, but a richly elaborated form of " that which was delivered by the eyewitnesses and servants of the Word, the God-chosen Apostles of the Church ". The critic-craftsmen of our own day, on the other hand, measure creeds with a tape line, and differentiate them by the number of syllables they contain. By the carpenter's rule Jerome's " Symbol of our faith and hope " is proved to have been several inches too short to have survived the fifth century. There is to-day a longer one, T, which has supplanted the shorter one, R—that, according to the mechanical conception of the Creed, is the long and the short of it.

" We know nothing certain as to the reasons which led to the adoption of T in preference to R". This would imply that the two forms, R and T, existed side by side in the Church, and that the longer rather than the shorter form was finally adopted. The truth is, as any one may know who is at all conversant with the facts of the case, that the Creed developed slowly, receiving one addition in the East, another in the West, until by the beginning of the eighth century it is found to have reached almost everywhere the full development that appears in its present form. Thus, " maker of heaven and earth ". " Catholic ", " life everlasting ", are early Eastern additions, while the descent into hell is an early Western addition, and the communion of saints a later Western addition.

It is true that in the local Roman Church the Creed

received no increment till after the time of Pope Leo the Great. But additions had been made to it before this time, in the West as well as in the East, with at least the tacit approval of the Popes, the supreme guardians of the Faith. When or how it came by its first increment in Rome itself, we know not, nor do we know the exact date at which it there attained its present form. But one thing we may be sure of: the change was brought about by process of addition to the old form, not by the adoption of a longer form in preference to a shorter one. "All analogy", as Burn justly observes, "points to a process of gradual growth" (*An Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 239). "Our Apostles' Creed", adds the same writer, with singular felicity of thought and diction, "is the Old Roman Creed of the second century, sanctified by continuous usage of eighteen hundred years in its Mother Church, like a precious jewel which in the new generation has been recut and polished, that it may reflect new beauties of incommunicable light" (*Ibid.* p. 240). Surely the primitive and uninterrupted tradition of the same Mother Church, which guarded her jewel so jealously, warrants the substitution of first for second century and of nineteen hundred for eighteen hundred years.

We may now fairly claim to have stripped the objection embodied in the words "modified at pleasure" of even the semblance of validity. But let there be also noted the fact that during the time in which additions were being made to the Creed the whole Christian world firmly believed it to have been of Apostolic origin. Plainly the Church did not regard the Apostolic Creed as a barren formulary, incapable of increment. She knew it to have been given as a

confession for daily use, and as a weapon of defence that should need to be furbished anew to meet every successive form of doctrinal error. As for the other phase of the same objection, founded upon the alleged supplanting of R by T, we may sum up all that has been set forth by saying what no one who examines carefully the two forms will gainsay, that root, stock, and branch, T and R are essentially and indissolubly one and the same.

The additions to the Creed were made gradually; several centuries elapsed before it assumed its present form, in other words, before R became T. Writing in the fifth century, before any additions to the Creed were made at Rome, St Leo the Great tells us that it contained twelve articles, or to use his own words, that it "bears the mark of the Twelve Apostles in having so many articles—*duodecim apostolorum totidem signata sententiis*". In the sixteenth century, long after the additions had been made, the Catechism prescribed by the Council of Trent declares the articles of the Creed to be twelve in number. All our catechisms and manuals of religious instruction uniformly declare the same thing.

We have pointed out that the existing Creed has not supplanted, or taken the place of, the ancient Creed of the Church, but is that same Creed in a fully developed form. Now all true development is a growth, and all growth is from within. That which grows receives increment or addition, it is true, but such increment is incorporated with the thing so as to form part and parcel of it, without in the least changing its nature. An organism does not take up into itself what it is not able to convert into its own substance: it rejects every element that is incapable

of being assimilated. So has it been with the organized body of revealed truth comprised in the Creed; it has ever rejected all extraneous matter that it could not assimilate, and has received only such additions as do not destroy or impair the structure of its twelve organic articles. Had the case been otherwise, the Creed would have undergone, not development on the original lines, but substantial change; and we should have to admit in it the introduction of new matter, organically disconnected with the original, not merely the unfolding and bringing into fuller light of the truths it contained from the first.

VI

The Region of Probabilities.—"It is highly probable that the Creed was originally nothing else than a profession of faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost of the baptismal formula".

It is certain that the Trinitarian Formula was the framework of the Creed. But that the Creed was originally nothing else but a profession of faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, there is not a particle of evidence. As against the alleged high probability we may well plead the certainty of Apostolical Tradition. They who abandon tradition in this matter miss their way, and do but grope about in the dark. "But those who are of the Church"—it is St Irenæus who writes—"have a regular path, encircling the whole world, the tradition thereof from the Apostles being secure; and this path enables us to see that all have one and the same faith, since all teach one and the same Father, believe the same

economy of the Son of God's Incarnation, and know the same gift of the Spirit, and meditate on the same precepts, and maintain the same form of government over the Church, and wait for the same coming of the Lord, and maintain the same salvation of the whole man, *i.e.*, of the soul and body "—Bk 5, Ch. 20. This path, encircling the whole world, is the common faith embodied in the Creed, which Irenæus sums up for us. He sets forth such articles of it, beginning with the first and ending with the twelfth, as were denied by the heretics against whom he is writing. And he tells us that " the tradition of it from the Apostles is secure ". This tradition is as secure to-day as it was when Irenæus wrote the words.

But let us leave, for the moment, the ground of tradition, and enter the region of probabilities. Is it really probable that the Creed of the Apostolic Church was such a meagre, jejune formula as this : " I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost "? The Apostles everywhere preached Christ and Him crucified. Is it probable that there was no word about the crucifixion in their Creed ? The Apostles everywhere preached the risen Saviour. Is it probable that the resurrection found no place in their Creed ? The Apostles everywhere preached the second coming of Christ. Is it probable that there was no mention of it in their Creed ? All whom they converted by their preaching had first to believe what was preached ; and they had to make profession of their belief. For, St Paul it is who tells us, " With the heart we believe unto justice, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation ".

St Paul tells us that an " outline of teaching " or " form of doctrine " was delivered to candidates for

baptism in Rome (*Rom.* 6 : 17). This Baptismal Creed of the first Roman converts was an outline of Apostolic preaching, common to all the Apostles, for St Paul speaks of it as of something with which he was himself familiar, though he had not at the time as yet visited Rome. Now the Apostles everywhere, as we gather from the New Testament, laid the greatest possible stress on the coming of the Son of God in the flesh, on His death upon the Cross for our sins, on His resurrection, in short upon the truths contained in those articles of the Creed that concern the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. And yet we are asked to believe it highly probable that there was not a word of all this in the outline or normal scheme of faith which served as the basis of their common preaching and the Creed they delivered to catechumens.

The twelve articles of the Creed are to be found in the New Testament in a more highly developed state than in the Creed itself. Unless, then, we reverse the law of doctrinal development, and put the complex and expanded before the simple and elementary, the bud and blossom before the seed, we must conclude that the plain statement of primal truths contained in the Creed is older than the New Testament, which exhibits the same truths in a highly elaborated form, with comments and scriptural references, and in their bearing upon Christian conduct.

Kattenbusch traces the Creed back to A.D. 100, Harnack to A.D. 145. It is, then, an established fact that the Creed, with its full complement of twelve articles, existed as early at least as the middle of the second century. And it was everywhere the same. Of this we are assured by two writers of the second

century, Irenæus and Tertullian. Let us now suppose, for the sake of argument, that the Baptismal Creed of the Apostolic Church, the "outline of teaching" delivered to the first Roman converts on the day of their baptism, was nothing else but a profession of faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Can it be seriously maintained that this formula of three articles, by the middle of the second century, just half a century after the passing of the last of the Apostles, had developed into the formula of twelve articles which the Church of the second century delivered to Irenæus and Tertullian as the Rule of Faith handed down from the Apostles? Enough to point out, by way of indicating how surely the question must be answered in the negative, that it took the Creed at least five centuries to develop into its present form, though not a single article has been added to it.

But, it may be urged, no one supposes that the formula of three articles expanded into the formula of twelve by process of development. The supposition is that a new profession of faith was formulated on the basis of the old. It remains, however, that the old was the foundation of the new, and that the new was formed by adding to the old. What is this but development? In a creed development takes place by grafting, not growth. The existing Creed was developed by inserting words and phrases in it.

The objection raised against the Apostolic authorship of the Symbol is, as we have seen, that if it had been really believed to have been instituted by the Apostles it would not have been "modified at pleasure", and especially would not have been "entirely supplanted" by the existing form. This same

objection may be urged with tenfold force against the hypothesis that the Creed of the Apostolic Church was but a confession of faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost of the baptismal formula. We know how sacred and inviolate in the early Church were the ordinances and usages handed down from the Apostles. Now, if a three-article formula of faith had been the Apostolic ordinance, and if the practice of the Apostolic Church had been to give baptism to those who professed the faith in terms of that formula, how was the ordinance set aside and the practice departed from so soon after the last of the Apostles had gone to his rest? And how was it that the Apostolic usage did not linger on in some at least of the Churches? How did it come to pass that a baptismal confession of faith in twelve articles was everywhere in use when Irenæus, in the East, sat at the feet of Polycarp, and Tertullian, in the West, thundered against the daring trespassers on the property of the Church who sought to remove the Apostolic landmarks? We do not now ask how Tertullian and Irenæus came to insist that this formula of twelve articles, which they at least should have been able to trace to some author or authors of the sub-apostolic time, was part of the apostolic tradition. One has not the heart to ask questions for which one has no hope of getting a satisfactory answer.

Toward the close of the second century serious trouble arose between the Roman Church and the Churches of Asia Minor over the date of the observance of Easter. The Asiatics kept Easter on the 14th Nisan, whether or not it was Sunday, following as they claimed, the practice of St John the Evangelist. In the West, on the other hand, Easter was always

kept on a Sunday, in accordance with the tradition handed down in the Roman Church from SS. Peter and Paul. So stubbornly did the Churches of Asia cling to their own tradition that Pope Victor threatened at last to cut them off from communion with the See of Peter. The thing was not in itself of vital moment, but there was a principle at stake, the maintenance of a practice established by an Apostle. Now let us suppose that the practice established by St John in Asia Minor was to administer baptism under a profession of faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost of the baptismal formula, that this had been the practice of the Apostles everywhere, and that by the middle of the second century the Roman Church had departed from the Apostolic practice, and insisted upon the use of a new formula of twelve articles. Is it credible that this new formula could have been introduced into the other Churches without provoking a murmur of dissent anywhere, or raising as much as a ripple of controversy?

Even in the domain of probability and rational inference, then, we claim the decision. And as the tradition from the Apostles is secure, we may regard it as an established fact that the Baptismal Creed of the Apostolic Church ran as follows: *I believe in God the Father Almighty: and in Christ Jesus, His only Son, our Lord; born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary; crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried; rose again the third day from the dead; ascended into heaven; sitteth at the right hand of the Father; whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead: and in the Holy Ghost; the holy Church; the remission of sins; the resurrection of the flesh.*

" Now in Rome ", are the words of the fifth century writer, Vigilius of Thapsus, " even before the Nicene Council met, from the time of the Apostles onward, the Symbol was so given to the faithful " (*Defens Ep. S., Leonis Papae, n.* 11.)

VII

A Passage in Harnack.—" There was need, it seemed[1], of a fixed *outward* standard, in order to be able to disprove doctrines such as that of the difference between the supreme God and the Creator-God, or such as that of docetism, and to be able to maintain the true conception as *Apostolic* doctrine, they needed a *definitely interpreted Apostolic creed.* Under these circumstances the particularly closely allied churches of Asia Minor and Rome, whose experience is known to us through Irenæus (he is hardly the first writer on the subject), accepted the fixed Roman baptismal confession as Apostolic in such a way that they proclaimed the current anti-gnostic interpretation of it as its *self-evident* content, and the expounded confession as *' fides catholica '*, *i.e.*, they set it up as a standard of truth in matters of faith and made its acceptance the condition of membership in the Church. This procedure, by which the centre of gravity of Christianity was shifted (the latter, however, was preserved from entire dissolution), rests upon two unproven assertions and an exchange. It is not proven that any confession of this kind emanated from the Apostles, and that the churches founded by the Apostles always preserved their teaching without modifications ; and the confession itself was exchanged

[1] In the Church of the latter half of the second century.

for an exposition of it. Finally, the conclusion that from the virtual agreement in doctrine of a group of churches (bishops) there existed a *fides catholica* was unjustified. *This action established the Catholic argument from tradition and has determined its fundamental significance until the present time.* The equivocal right, on the one side, to announce the creed as *complete and plain*, and, on the other side, to make it so elastic that one can reject every uncomfortable meaning, is to the present day characteristic of Catholicism. It is also characteristic that men identify Christianity with a system of faith which the laity cannot understand. The latter are therefore oppressed and referred back to *the authority*[1]".

Let the reader note carefully the contents of the foregoing extract. Both italics and parentheses are the author's, or if not, the translator's. Here, in the first place, is a theory put forward, in the guise of an historical statement, not directly about the origin of the Creed, but about the alleged acceptance of it as Apostolic by the " closely allied churches of Asia Minor and Rome ". To meet the dualism and docetism of the day, these churches needed an Apostolic Creed interpreted in an anti-heretical sense. Having no such Creed at hand—so it is assumed—they went to work, not exactly to make a Creed, but to set up as Apostolic one that they found ready-made —the Old Roman, to wit. A Creed that they must have known not to be Apostolic at all they declared to be Apostolic, and they did so because they needed a Creed that would authoritatively confute heresy. Such is Harnack's account of the way the Old Roman

[1] *History of Dogma*, by Adolf Harnack, translated by Edwin Knox Mitchell, M.A.; ed. of 1893, pp. 86-7.

Creed, which he believes to have been drawn up at Rome shortly before A.D. 150, came to be received, in less than half a century after, as the Rule of Faith instituted by the Apostles. Let us see, in the first place, whether the account is a likely one, and so prepare the way for the consideration of a second and more vital inquiry as to whether it is in accordance with historical facts.

Harnack assumes, as has been said, that the Old Roman Creed, which he here calls "the fixed Roman baptismal confession", was composed shortly before the middle of the second century. And he asserts that it was "accepted as Apostolic"—that is, put forward and received as Apostolic by the churches of Asia Minor and Rome in the last quarter of the same century. Let us, too, for argument's sake, assume that the Creed was drawn up about A.D. 145. On this assumption there must have been many still living when it was accepted as Apostolic who knew with absolute certainty that it was not Apostolic; many who knew, of their own personal knowledge, that it had been formulated at Rome not more than thirty or forty years before. Is it likely they would have accepted as Apostolic a Creed which they knew was not Apostolic? And even supposing them to have connived at the fraud, what purpose could it have served? Nothing would have more effectually played into the hands of those early heretics than an attempt to palm off as Apostolic a formulary which everybody at that time would have known, and anybody could have shown, not to be Apostolic. Harnack's account of the matter, therefore, does not stand to reason. It involves grievous injury, and this, too, gratuitous, to the orthodox Christians of

those early times, and it lacks every element of likelihood.

An account which is, on the face of it, so improbable, we shall be quite prepared to find also untrue. What we know of the Church's conflict with heresy in the latter half of the second century is gleaned from the pages of Irenæus and Tertullian. They were both of them eye-witnesses of that conflict, and bore a leading part in it. What is more, they are the only contemporary witnesses of the facts which they relate, and their testimony must, therefore, be decisive of the question at issue[1]. That question, let us again call to mind, concerns the truth or falsity of Harnack's assertion that the Churches of Asia Minor and Rome, being in need of an Apostolic Creed to meet the current heresies, and not having one, "accepted" as Apostolic a baptismal confession drawn up at Rome about A.D. 145. Now, both of our witnesses flatly contradict this assertion of Harnack's. Irenæus declares that the Rule of Truth, to which he so often appeals in his controversy with the heretics, is bestowed by baptism[2], and baptism was not an invention of the post-Apostolic age. He bears testimony that, "The Church, dispersed as she is throughout the whole world even to the ends of the earth, hath received from the Apostles and their disciples this Faith", and then proceeds to give, in his own words, the contents of the Rule of Truth which baptism bestows[3]. We recognize in his description

[1] Theophilus, of Antioch, is said to have written several works against the heresies of this time, but none of these has come down to us. Of Hegesippus' Ecclesiastical History we have but the few fragments cited by Eusebius and St Jerome. The writings of St Clement, of Alexandria, are didactic and philosophical, rather than polemical, while Athenagoras, Tatian, Minutius Felix, and Julius Africanus are apologists and defend Christianity from the calumnies of the heathen.

[2] Bk 1, c. 9, n. 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, c. 10, n. 1.

of it the Old Roman Creed, whereof he sets forth every article but one; namely, the session of Christ at the right hand of the Father. He says that, even if "the Apostles had not left us writings", it would be necessary to follow "the tradition which they handed down to those to whom they committed the Churches[1]". And that he means by this "tradition" especially the Rule of Truth bestowed by baptism is plain, for he goes right on to speak of it as the "Rule to which many nations of those barbarians who believe in Christ do assent, having salvation written in their hearts, without paper and ink, and carefully preserving the ancient tradition". Those barbarians of course, were not able to learn the whole tradition of the Apostolic doctrine by heart, "without paper and ink", but they could learn the compendious statement or outline of it which has ever been known as the Apostles' Creed. As if, however, to exclude even the possibility of doubt, Irenæus sums up, in his own words, for us the "tradition" in question, which we have no difficulty in identifying as the Baptismal Creed: "believing," he says, "in one God, the Creator of heaven and earth, . . . by Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who . . . condescended to be born of the Virgin, . . . and having suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rising again, and having been received in brightness, shall come in glory", etc. Finally, by way of "confounding all those who in whatever manner assemble otherwise than as it behoveth", he points to "that Tradition, derived from the Apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known Church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul[2]",

[1] Bk 3, c. 4, n. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, c. 3, n. 2.

which Tradition, he adds, (n. 3) " proclaims one God Almighty, maker of heaven and earth ". Very plain it is that Irenæus knew of no Creed drawn up at Rome some thirty or forty years before he wrote his work *Against Heresies*. His Rule of Truth, which the Christian " receives by his baptism ", is " that Tradition, which is of the Apostles, which is guarded by the successions of presbyters in the Churches[1]". Not less clear nor less explicit is the testimony of Tertullian. His Rule of Faith " ran from the beginning of the Gospel, even before the earliest heretics[2]". It was in the nature of a " deposit ", and had been handed on by " tradition ". " When that which is deposited among many ", he says, " is found to be one and the same, it is not the result of error, but of tradition. Can any one, then, be reckless enough to say that they were in error who handed on the tradition[3]"? In particular, he bears witness that the Roman Church got her " Tessera ", or Symbol, from the Apostles, and gave it afterwards to the Churches of Proconsular Africa[4].

Irenæus and Tertullian, however, it is urged, assert but do not prove that the Creed was handed down by tradition from the Apostles. " It is not proven ", are Harnack's words, " that any confession of this kind emanated from the Apostles ". At least, it may be said in reply, the assertion of two such witnesses outweighs anybody's assertion to the contrary to-day. But when has it ever been thought needful to prove (1) a public and notorious fact; (2) a fact which nobody, not even an opponent, denies? Now such was the fact of the Apostolic

[1] *Ibid.*, c. 2, n. 2. [2] *Adv. Prax.*, c. 2.
[3] *De Praesc.*, c. 28. [4] *Ibid.*, c. 36.

origin of the Creed in the time of Irenæus and Tertullian. "The tradition, therefore, of the Apostles", declares the former of the two, "made known in all the world, all may look back upon who may wish to see the truth[1]". And all were able to look back upon it, because, as he goes on to say, "we are able to recount those whom the Apostles appointed to be Bishops in the Churches, and their successors down to our own time". Thus the successors of the Apostles were warranty for the faithful transmission of the Tradition from the Apostles, and there were as many witnesses for the existence of it as there were Christians in communion with the Churches founded by the Apostles. "That this Rule of Faith", says Tertullian, "has come down to us from the beginning of the Gospel, even before the earliest heretics, much more before Praxeas, who is but of yesterday, will be apparent both from the lateness of date which marks all heresies, and also from the absolutely novel character of our new-fangled Praxeas. In this principle also we must henceforth find a presumption of equal force against all heresies whatsoever—that whatever is first is true, whereas that is spurious which is of later date[2]". So universally known and undeniable a fact does Tertullian deem the Apostolic origin of the Symbol in his day that he founds on it a principle which is to furnish an argument of equal force against all heresies—*Whatever is first is true.*

In the next place, not even the heretics whom those two ancient writers combat called in question the Apostolic origin of the Creed. "When, on the other hand", says Irenæus, "we challenge them to that Tradition, which is of the Apostles, which is guarded

[1] Bk 3, c. 3, n. 1. [2] *Adv. Prax.*, c. 2.

by the successions of presbyters in the Churches, they oppose Tradition, saying that themselves being wiser not only than presbyters, but even than Apostles, have discovered the genuine Truth. For ' the Apostles ', they say, intermingled with the words of the Saviour the things of the Law ". Thus the heretics, not being able to deny the Apostolic authorship of the Catholic Rule of Faith, took the position that the Apostles themselves had perverted the true doctrine. Tertullian writes in the same sense. " For they allege ", are his words, " that Marcion did not so much innovate on the Rule [of Faith], by his separation of the law and the Gospel, as restore it after it had been previously adulterated. O Christ ", he, with pointed sarcasm, exclaims, " most patient Lord, who didst suffer so many years this interference with Thy revelation, until Marcion forsooth came to Thy rescue! Now they bring forward the case of Peter himself, and the others, who were pillars of the Apostolate, as having been blamed by Paul for not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel[1]". The heretics of the second century, therefore, did not and could not deny that the Creed of the Church was Apostolic. What they did was to set up the plea that the Apostles themselves did not " walk uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel ", and that consequently the Creed drawn up by them did not embody the teaching of Christ.

Another " unproven assertion ", according to Harnack, is that " the churches founded by the Apostles always preserved their teachings without modifications ". But continuity of teaching was guaranteed by the unbroken succession of pastors in the Apostolic

[1] *Adv. Marc.*, I, 20.

Churches, under the promised guidance of the Paraclete. Also, Tertullian finds conclusive evidence of such continuity in the fact that the Apostolic Tradition is one and the same in all the churches. "Grant then", he argues, in his wonted forceful way, "that all have erred; that the Apostle was mistaken in giving his testimony (*Rom.* 1: 8); that the Holy Ghost had no such respect to any church as to lead it into truth, although sent with this view by Christ, and for this asked of the Father that He might be the teacher of truth; that He, the Steward of God, the Vicar of Christ, neglected His office, permitting the churches for a time to understand differently, to believe differently, what He Himself was preaching by the Apostles—is it likely that so many churches, and so great, should have erred into one and the same faith? No casualty distributed among many men issues in one and the same result. Error of doctrine in the churches must necessarily have produced various issues[1]". Here is proof which even a Rationalist like Harnack, who ignores the presence and operation of God's Holy Spirit in the Church, might perceive the cogency of. How could so many churches, and so great, have erred into one and the same tradition of the Faith?

The present writer has been censured for saying that the want of divine faith unfits Harnack to discuss "this purely historical question" of the origin of the Creed. Harnack's fitness—or want of fitness—on this score may be put to the test just here. He tells us, in the extract cited above, that the Church, in the second century, needed an Apostolic Creed to confute the heresies which were rife at the time. He has the

[1] *De Praesc.*, 28.

hardihood to tell us further that, as Apostolic Creed there was none, the Church stooped to the clumsy fraud of setting up as Apostolic a creed that had been composed at Rome a short time previously. He would have us believe that, at the very first onset of heresy, the Church of God found herself to be without the weapon needful for self-defence. Surely, here Faith would have bidden Harnack banish the thought that our Divine Lord left His Church so poorly equipped to do battle with heresy. And what Newman, in his answer to Kingsley, calls "that common manly frankness by which we put confidence in others till they are proved to have forfeited it", should have kept him from even insinuating that the churches of Asia Minor and Rome did the dishonest thing he says they did—accept as Apostolic and proclaim to be Apostolic a creed which they knew full well was not Apostolic.

As for Harnack's other assertion that "the confession itself", namely the Old Roman Creed, "was exchanged for an exposition of it", this is only his own way of accounting for the fact that neither Irenæus nor Tertullian gives us the Creed in the very phrase, being "kept back", as Zahn explains, "by the principle maintained for hundreds of years in the Church that this confession should not be written with pen and ink, but should be imprinted on the heart and memory". They interjected between the clauses of the Creed such words of their own as should bring out more clearly the meaning of it, in opposition to the heretics. To have done this was not to exchange the Creed for an exposition of it. That which is exchanged for another thing is set aside when the other thing takes its place. But the Old Roman

Creed was not set aside, else it would be the exposition of it, not itself, that should be found, two centuries later, in the writings of Rufinus and Augustine.

" Finally ", we are told, " the conclusion that from the virtual agreement in doctrine of a group of churches (bishops) there existed a *fides catholica* was unjustified ". We are moved to ask, in the first place, what became of the *fides catholica* if it no longer existed in the latter half of the second century ? Surely the Faith was catholic, in fact as well as by the will of the Author and Finisher of it, from the time that the Apostles had planted it in all nations and God had given the increase. It was the self-same Gospel that was to be preached " to every creature ". Even the name Catholic, as we learn from written records, was in existence at least as early as the beginning of the second century ; and the thing, as is ever the case, went before the name. In the second place, our witnesses for the Faith in the time of which Harnack is speaking, set down the catholicity of it, not as a conclusion or inference, but as a fact, yea, an undeniable fact. To cite but the words of one of them : " Neither have the Churches situated in the regions of Germany believed otherwise, nor do they hold any other tradition, neither in the parts of Spain, nor among the Celts, nor in the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Libya, nor those which are situate in the middle parts of the world. But as the sun, the creature of God, is in all the world one and the same, so the preaching of the Truth shines everywhere, and enlightens every man who wishes to come to a knowledge of the Truth[1]". The existence of the *fides catholica* in his day was not, for Irenæus, a

[1] *Adversus Haereses*, l. 1, c. 10, n. 2.

something to be argued out or drawn as a conclusion from premises. It was a fact as visible to all and as unquestionable as that it is one and the same sun which sheds its light on all the earth. But if what Harnack means is that the existence of heresy is a prejudice to the *fides catholica*, we grant that it is—in the same sense that the cloud which hides, for a time and from those that are under it, the face of the sun, is prejudicial to the glorious orb of day.

" This action ", states our historian in fine, laying stress on the statement, " *established the Catholic argument from tradition and has determined its fundamental significance to the present time* ". " This action ", be it borne in mind, was, according to Harnack, compounded of fraud and unjustifiable inference. And it is upon so rotten a foundation as this he makes the Catholic argument from tradition to rest! But what proof is offered of the alleged fraud and unwarranted inference? Not one particle of proof—nothing but bald assertion. That assertion is quite as unfounded as is the other which forms a fitting sequel to it. It " is to the present day characteristic of Catholicism to make [the Creed] so elastic that one can reject every uncomfortable meaning ". Let him tell that to the marines.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ARTICLES OF THE CREED

I

An "Article" of Faith.—An article, as we use the word here, is an item of belief, complete in itself, but so joined to kindred items as to form one organic body of revealed truth. The word comes from the Latin diminutive *articulus*, which signifies "a little joint"—joint being that which joins the limbs together in a physical organism. And as by a common figure of speech, "artus", came to mean the parts joined together, so "articulus", or article, in the domain of faith, has come by its meaning.

Faith, the Apostle tells us, is "the evidence of things not seen".—*Heb.* 11 : 1. As in a court of justice trustworthy witnesses, by their "evidence" or testimony, establish the truth of something not otherwise known, so Christ and those whom He has sent to preach His Gospel establish by their preaching the truth of things otherwise unknowable. The unseen, as such, is the formal object of faith. Much subtle discussion there has been as to whether that which we can see by the light of unaided reason can at the same time be an object of divine faith. But it remains, unless we are prepared to contradict the Apostle, that divine faith is of the unseen; and, unless we contradict reason itself, the same thing cannot be both seen and not seen at the same time by the same intellect.

II

Twelve Articles.—The Apostles' Creed comprises twelve articles. These twelve items of belief are bound up one with the other. But each is complete in itself, in such wise that each is in itself unknowable save by divine revelation, and is therefore not logically included in another, at least so far as human reason can discern such inclusion. This follows from the fact that " faith is the evidence of things not seen ". Now it is an accepted principle of Catholic teaching that the public revelation of God to men ceased with the Apostles. There can be no addition to " the faith once delivered to the saints ". What the Creed, therefore, comprises to-day it comprised from the first—twelve articles, neither more nor less. This is, also, the received teaching. It is set forth in the Catechism of the Council of Trent, and in all our catechisms ; it is affirmed by all Catholic theologians. And the testimony of Christian antiquity is in accord. The Creed expounded by St Augustine in his sermons, by Rufinus in his commentaries, has twelve articles. And St Leo the Great testifies that it is " duodecim apostolorum totidem signata sententiis "—ear-marked as Apostolic by having the Apostolic number of articles.

III

Division of the Creed.—While the voice of Christian antiquity chimes with that of to-day regarding the number of articles, we find strange discord when we come to the division of the Creed. The best way to bring this out is to set down side by side, and article

by article, the Creed as we have it to-day and the Creed as it stands out in the pages of Augustine and Rufinus :

Apostles' Creed	Old Roman Creed
1. I believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth	1. I believe in God the Father Almighty
2. And in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord	2. And in Christ Jesus His only Son our Lord
3. Conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary	3. Born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary
4. Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried	4. Crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried (He descended into hell)
5. He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead	5. The third day He rose again from the dead
6. Ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty	6. Ascended into heaven
7. From thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead	7. Sitteth at the right hand of the Father
8. I believe in the Holy Ghost	8. From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead
9. The Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints	9. And in the Holy Ghost
10. the forgiveness of sins	10. Holy Church
11. The resurrection of the body	11. Forgiveness of sins
12. And the life everlasting	12. Resurrection of the flesh

If you look upon the Creed with the eye of a mechanic, and reckon the addition of every three or four words as a new article of faith, then you will conclude that it contains more than twelve articles. Several words have been added, and it is a good bit longer to-day than it was in the fourth century. But if you look upon it with the eye of a theologian, and count up the number of distinct revealed truths that it embodies, you will find them to be twelve, and twelve only. It is not hard to decide which of these divisions we should follow. Certainly the old one: first, because it is the ancient and original division, and secondly, because it is demonstrably the true one. That which we put in the twelfth place to-day, was not at all in the ancient Creed of the Church.

Therefore it is not an article of the Creed—not an item of belief, complete in itself, and underivable by process of reasoning from any other article. Indeed we have such excellent authority as St John Chrysostom for saying that the words " and the life everlasting ", which first ran " unto life everlasting ", were originally a gloss on the resurrection article. " And as the word ' resurrection ' ", he tells us, " is not enough to convey the whole truth (for many who rose again died again, as did those who rose under the Old Dispensation, as did Lazarus, and those who rose when Christ died), we are taught to say, *and in the life everlasting*[1] ".

The Creed to-day, as in the days of the Apostles, embodies twelve statements of divine truth explicitly revealed by God ; no more, no less. It rests on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity as its foundation. This doctrine was but dimly shadowed forth in the Old Testament ; it stands out in bold relief in the New. Our faith in each of the three Divine Persons is expressed in a distinct article : I believe in the Father ; I believe in the Son ; I believe in the Holy Ghost. Then we affirm our belief in the work appropriated to each ; to the Father the work of creation, to the Son the work of redemption, to the Holy Ghost the work of sanctification and regeneration of the whole man, body and soul. But the work of creation lies in the order of nature, and God as Creator or Maker, or Lord of All (as the original Greek has it), is known by the light of natural reason. It is not, therefore, as Creator that we profess our faith in the Father Almighty, but as Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and of all that become His children by the adoption of

[1] Sermon 40, Migne, tome 61.

grace. This is the unseen element of the first article strictly beyond the ken of reason when left to itself. The words "Creator of heaven and earth", were added in the East to offset the heresy of Marcion (A.D. 144), who pretended that the God of the Old Testament, the God who made the world, was not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ[1].

The second and third articles are the same in both forms of the Creed. In the fourth we note an important difference, "Crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried", of the Old Roman Creed, is expanded into "Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried". And the words "He descended into hell", which appear in the Creed of Aquileia, and which Rufinus joins with "buried", are, in our form of the Creed, transferred to the resurrection article. The death of Christ involved the descent of His Soul into the underworld of spirits, whither every disembodied soul, from Adam and Eve down, had gone before His coming. On the other hand, the resurrection of Christ involved, not the going down of His Soul into hell, but the coming up of His Soul out of hell to be united once more with His Body. The words, "He descended into hell", form, therefore, part of the death-article, and should be restored to their proper place in our Creed.

From the sixth article to the twelfth the difference between the two divisions of the Creed is radical. From this point on to the end the two schem s of division are irreconcilable. In the Creed as we have it, "sitteth at the right hand of the Father", is made part of the sixth article; in the Old Roman Creed, the Session is a distinct article, and is put in the

[1] Cf. Irenæus, Bk 1, c. 27, n. 2.

seventh place. Here again the old scheme of division is right; the new is wrong. In fact, when we examine the tabular form of the Old Roman Creed given above, we find that the Session must be a distinct article to make up the number twelve. In the new division, it is plain that the Session has been linked with the Ascension so as to make room for "the life everlasting" in the twelfth place. But, as we have seen, these words were not at all in the Creed originally, and do not in any case constitute a new article of faith, because the truth they embody is necessarily implied in the resurrection-article. What is more, from the nature of the case, the Session is by itself an article of faith. It is a complete item of belief, such that it could have become known to us only by divine revelation. True, from the ascension-article we gather that our Blessed Lord is in Heaven, Body and Soul. But the words, "sitteth at the right hand of the Father", define the position which He holds there in a way passing the reach of human reason. Indeed, the mind of man can never seize the full import of the great truth set before us in this highly figurative and symbolic form of words until faith is merged in vision. Nor could it, in the first instance, prudently assent to a statement couched in such a form of words, except on the authority of divine revelation. We note that St Stephen saw "Jesus standing on the right hand of God".

IV

A Legend and its Source.—But how are we to account for the present division, which has behind it quite a hoary past, and would be venerable if it were

possible for error ever to be venerable? It would seem to have had its origin in a sermon on the Symbol mistakenly attributed to St Augustine. Augustine's word has ever carried great weight, and for many centuries was understood to be pledged for what is now regarded as a legendary account of how the Twelve Apostles composed the Creed. I transcribe the legend from the text in Migne, omitting the comment interspersed with the words supposed to have been contributed by each of the Apostles. The reader will note that the divisions of the Creed correspond exactly to those that we have to-day:

On the tenth day after the Ascension the disciples composed the Symbol. Peter said: (1) "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth". Andrew said: (2) "And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, Our Lord". James said: (3) "Who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary". John said: (4) "Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried". Thomas said: (5) "He descended into hell. The third day He arose again from the dead". James said: (6) "He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty". Philip said: (7) "Thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead". Bartholomew said: (8) "I believe in the Holy Ghost". Matthew said: (9) "The holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints". Simon said: (10) "The remission of sins". Thaddaeus said: (11) "The resurrection of the flesh". Matthias said: (12) "The life everlasting[1]".

[1] Serm. 240 (Migne, tome 30). In the middle ages the history of the development of the Creed, on the lines of Scripture and Tradition, from the ancient Symbol, with its monumental terseness, into the Apostles' Creed of to-day, seems to have been unknown. Hence no end of confusion in the division of the Creed into articles. Reiffenstuel (*Jus Canonicum*, Vol. I) prefers that of Scotus (in 3 dist. 25). The Subtle Doctor, indeed, rightly joins "the life everlasting" with "the resurrection of the flesh", of the twelfth article; but he makes a special article of the "descent into hell", putting it in the fifth place, and drops the Session altogether. Reiffenstuel

We know that Matthias didn't say "the life everlasting", for the reason that there were no such words in the original Apostles' Creed. I say "the original Apostles' Creed", not the Old Roman Creed; for the ancient tradition which ascribes to the Twelve the authorship of the Creed stands as firm as a rock.

V

"Lord of All".—Harnack, as we have seen, says the Creed was drawn up at Rome about A.D. 145. Kattenbusch also holds to the Roman origin of the Creed, but pushes back the date about half a century. Professor McGiffert[1] tries to show that the Roman Church formulated the Creed in opposition to Marcion. But Tertullian, who had the advantage of living about seventeen centuries nearer to the time when the Creed was drawn up, tells us that the Roman Church first "learned" the Symbol which she afterward "taught" the Churches of Proconsular Africa[2].

What the Roman Church had thus to "learn", she did not compose. The idea that she formulated the Creed to meet the errors of Marcion is, on the face of it, absurd. The fundamental error of that heresiarch was his denial that the Maker of heaven and earth is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. A Creed formulated to confute this error would have in the first article the explicit statement that the Father Almighty, whose only Son is Jesus Christ, is Maker of heaven and earth, or Maker of all things.

incidentally confirms the view put forward above to account for the present division, expressly citing Augustine as authority in the sermon on the vigil of Pentecost.

[1] *The Apostles' Creed*, Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1902.

[2] "Videamus quid didicerit, quid docuerit, quid cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesserarit."—*De Praes.* 36.

Now it was long after Marcion's time that these words were added to the Old Roman Creed. And the "Father Almighty" of its first article, especially in the Greek form "Lord of All", does not directly strike at the error of Marcion, who might still maintain that the "Father and Lord of all" of the Creed was not the Maker of heaven and earth, the God of the Old Testament. In fact, this was precisely what Marcion did maintain, that God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ was above the world-maker, whom he spoke of, therefore, as the Demiurge.

VI

The Object of Our Faith.—"Without faith", says St Paul, "it is impossible to please God. For he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that seek after Him".—*Heb.* 11 : 6. Now the Creed is a "breviarium fidei", a summary of the Faith. It must contain, therefore, and set before us in a compendious form, the teaching of the Faith about God as He is in Himself, and about God as He is the rewarder of those who seek after Him, that is, about God in relation to us. God in Himself, as the object of our Faith, is One in Three, one God in three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. On this mystery of the Holy Trinity our Creed rests as on its foundation. All that it contains beside, all that is built on this foundation, serves to define God as He is in relation to us, or, more properly speaking, to define the relation in which we stand to Him, for in Him is no real relation to aught that is outside of Himself. We, on the other hand, enter into relations with the

three Persons of the Blessed Trinity; with the First Person as our Creator, with the Second Person as our Redeemer, with the Third Person as our Paraclete, as the Spirit who guides us into the truth, frees us from our sins, and comforts us in this mortal life with the blessed hope of a glorious resurrection. All this is set forth in the twelve articles of the Creed.

VII

The Unseen Element.—The mystery of the Trinity, embodied in the first, second, and ninth articles of the Creed, is unseen in the most absolute sense. Not only is it beyond the power of unaided reason to know that God is One in Three, but it is beyond its power to understand this truth even after it has been made known by revelation. The same is to be said of the mystery of the Incarnation, set forth in the third article. But what of the fourth? Was the crucifixion, was the burial, of Christ unseen? It would appear not. The whole tragic scene on Calvary had many witnesses. It is a fact of history that Christ was crucified, and that his body was laid in the sepulchre. It is proved by documentary evidence like any other historical fact. How, then, can it be of divine faith? how can it be an article of the Creed? It might be said that, while the crucifixion and burial were in themselves visible facts, the fact of the One crucified and buried being the Son of God was invisible. But this would be no adequate solution of the difficulty, for our faith in the invisible fact in question is already implied in our faith in the mystery of the Incarnation. If the Son of God can be born of woman, He can die on a cross and be buried, just as

any mere man that is born of woman can. The unseen element of this article of the Creed is to be sought in the idea expressed by the word "buried". For "buried", as Rufinus pointed out so long ago, n his *Commentary on the Symbol*, logically, or, at any rate, theologically, includes the "descent into hell", which found a place, even at that early day, in the Creed of the Church of Aquileia[1]. Now, the fact of the existence of the disembodied spirits in Limbo, and the fact that the Soul of Christ went thither after its separation from the Body, are in the strictest sense, unseen facts, which we know not by reason, nor on the testimony of men, but by revelation from God. The subject of the complex predicate "was crucified and buried" is "Jesus Christ", and Jesus Christ, as we are taught in the Catechism, had a body and soul like ours. We are, therefore, bound to believe that the entire Christ was "buried", His Body in the sepulchre, His Soul in the Limbo of the Fathers. Our Lord Himself, in the parable of Lazarus and the rich glutton, after saying of the latter that he "died and was buried", passes right on to say in the next sentence," and in hell he lifted up his eyes[2]", which can be understood only of the disembodied spirit. It is instructive to note that the same word is used in this passage of Luke and in the Creed to signify what we express in English by "buried". In Luke it is ἔταφη, the Creed has ταφέντα. It is also instructive to note that, in the Canon of the Mass, which is perhaps as old as the Creed itself, the resurrection is spoken of as being

[1] "Vis tamen verbi eadem videtur in eo quod sepultus dicitur"—*Ibid.*, n. 18 (Migne, tome 21).

[2] So the passage runs in the original Greek. The Douay Version has: "And the rich man also died, and was buried in hell".—*Luke* 16 : 22.

" *ab inferis* ", that is, from " hell " or the lower world, rather than from the sepulchre. The words run: " Ejusdem Christi Filii tui, Domini Nostri, tam beatae passionis, nec non et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in caelos gloriosae ascensionis—Of the so sacred passion of the same Christ Thy Son, our Lord, as well as of His resurrection from the lower world, and also of his glorious ascension into Heaven ".

VIII

Four Other Articles.—And now for the other articles. The Resurrection was not only unseen of men but is a something that passes comprehension. The Ascension was visible in its first stage, on the Mount of Olives, but unseen even of those who stood there gazing upward, from the time that " the cloud received " Our Lord " out of their sight ".—*Acts* 1 : 9. It was " the two men " who " stood by them in white apparel ", the Angels of God, to wit, who revealed to the men of Galilee that, " this Jesus was received up from " them " into heaven " and should " so come in like manner as " they had beheld " him going into heaven ". The session " on the right hand of the Father " is veiled from mortal vision, as is the coming again " to judge the living and the dead ", which is foretold in the eighth article. The ninth article completes the statement of our faith in the mystery of the Holy Trinity.

Of the three remaining articles only one offers any difficulty on this score. The remission of sins and the resurrection of the body belong to an order of truths that are far beyond the reach of unaided reason. But (and here is where the difficulty lies)

the Church is visible, "a city set upon a hill". So it is. But so was the "Man Christ Jesus" visible, and yet He it is with whom the third article of the Creed is concerned. When Peter said to the Man who stood before him, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God", he saw one thing, as St Gregory puts it, and believed another. He saw One who "was found in fashion as a man", and believed Him to be God. And so it is with us in the case of the Church. We see one thing, we believe another. Indeed "the holy Church" is, in the logical order, the first article of the Creed. We see the visible society which, from its centre in Rome, branches out into all the world—"this broad fact of Catholicism, as real", aye, and as visible, "as the continent of America or the Milky Way"; we believe it to be "the Church of the living God, which is the pillar and ground of the truth". In the Church, even as in her Founder, we distinguish the human element and the divine, the visible element and the invisible. It is the former that is prominently before our minds when we say "the holy Catholic Church"; the latter when we add, "the communion of saints".

IX

Two Citations in Point.—This is what was in St Augustine's mind when he prayed that exquisitely touching prayer, on the death of his mother: "And inspire, O Lord my God, inspire Thy servants my brethren, Thy sons my masters, whom with voice, and heart, and pen I serve, that as many as shall read these Confessions may at Thy Altar remember Monica, Thy handmaid, with Patricius, her sometime

husband, by whose bodies Thou hast brought me into this life, how I know not. May they devoutly remember my parents in this transitory life, my brethren under Thee our Father in our Catholic Mother, my fellow-citizens in the eternal Jerusalem, which Thy pilgrim people sigh after from their going forth even unto their return thither[1]".

But you are come to Mount Sion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to the company of many thousands of Angels, and to the Church of the first-born who are written in the heavens, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of the just made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the New Testament, and to the sprinkling of blood which speaketh better than that of Abel.—Heb. 12.

X

The Drama of Redemption.—What has been not inappropriately called the "Christological section" of the Creed, from the second to the eighth article inclusive, embodies the great drama of the Redemption. The second article is in the nature of a prologue, the eighth an epilogue, while the intervening ones constitute the drama proper. It has five acts, the Incarnation, the Death and Burial, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Session on the right hand of the Father. Most of its scenes are familiar to us in the mysteries of the Rosary. It was presented once for all on the world's stage, at Nazareth and Bethlehem, on Calvary, on the Mount of Olives, and is ever since rehearsed on the altars of our churches in the Holy Mass. The Word, who was "with God in the

[1] *Conf.*, Bk 9.

beginning ", leaves His home in heaven, and presently on earth " is found in fashion as a man " ; goes down into the grave and even into hell ; rises from thence again ; goes up into heaven ; and once more is with God, " sitting on the right hand of the Father " ; for He who was " born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary " has won for Himself this place of pre-eminence. The stupendous drama has its catabasis and its anabasis, its coming down and its going up again. And the " descent into hell " is part of the catabasis. The anabasis begins to unfold itself on the morning of the resurrection.

XI

The Fourth Article.—Here, then, is another reason why the " descent into hell " must be deemed part of the fourth article. The putting it in with the fifth is clean against the canons of dramatic art. This might not be a very serious matter by itself. But it gives added weight to theological and historical considerations. Theologically, as has been pointed out above, the addition is needed to bring out the full meaning of the fourth article. And to the fourth it belongs also on critical and historical grounds. " The oldest interpreters ", says Harnack, " make *descendit* equivalent to *sepultus*[1] ". The fourth article, therefore, is : " Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried. He descended into hell ". The Soul of Christ was in hell before His Body was in the sepulchre.

[1] *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 88. The point was a moot one in the Middle Ages, as appears from a passage in *The Formula of Concord*, Art. IX. " It hath also been disputed," say the authors, " whether this article [the descent into hell] is to be referred to the passion, or to the glorious victory and triumph of Christ." Cf. Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. III, p. 159.

CHAPTER XV

THE ADDITIONS TO THE CREED

I

The Apostles' Creed and the Roman Symbol.—In the second volume of his great work on the Apostles' Creed, Dr Kattenbusch says emphatically that the Received Text, which includes the additions made to the Old Roman Symbol, is not to be regarded as a new form[1]. Critical and historical considerations led the German investigator to this conclusion. The same conclusion has been reached in these pages, mainly on theological grounds. It remains to discuss these additions, which distinguish our Apostles' Creed from the Old Roman Symbol. They are "Creator of heaven and earth", in the first article; "conceived", in the third; "suffered", "died", "descended into hell", in the fourth; "God" and "Almighty", in the seventh; "Catholic" and "communion of saints", in the tenth; "and the life everlasting", in the twelfth.

II

Self-Explaining Additions.—The bulk of these additions are self-explaining. The first lays stress on the exercise of that almighty power which is appropriated to the Father. The Nicene Creed has it, as well as

[1] Cf. *The Church Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1902, p. 221.

the Creed of Jerusalem. In Irenæus it appears as "framer of heaven and earth", and in Tertullian as "maker of the world". These, and phrases of like import, we may suppose to have been the watchwords of orthodox believers in their controversy with the Marcionites, who denied that Christ was the Son of the Creator. In the course of time they would take the one stereotyped form that we are familiar with to-day. "Conceived", of the third article, "suffered" and "died", of the fourth, "God" and "Almighty", of the seventh, call for no special comment. The addition, "descended into hell", which first occurs in the Creed of Aquileia, was dealt with in the preceding chapter. There remain, "the communion of saints", and "the life everlasting".

The latter of the two is but a gloss on the "resurrection", of the twelfth article. St Chrysostom and the author of the homily *de Symb. ad Catech.* tell us expressly that the words were added to define the meaning of that article. They do not occur in any of the forms cited by Tertullian or Irenæus. But they were part of the Eastern Creed from a very early time, how early we have no means of knowing. We find them in St Cyril's Creed, and in the Creed of Marcellus, which is much older than Cyril's Creed. In the West, or at any rate in the Church of Carthage, they seem to have crept into the Creed from the baptismal interrogatory.

III

The Communion of Saints.—The "communion of saints" is a much later addition. It is first found in an exposition of the Symbol by Nicetas (? A.D. 400),

and in the Creed of Faustus of Rietz, who flourished in Gaul during the latter half of the fifth century. Nicetas uses the words in the traditional Catholic sense. They serve but to unfold more fully the idea contained in " the holy Church " of the Old Roman Creed. The Church, which is so often spoken of by her Divine Founder as the Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of Heaven, is in the world, but not of it. She knows no bounds of space or time ; she mocks at the barriers of the tomb. She fights sin and error here on earth, where now she " holds her pilgrim way;" she comforts with her suffrage those who " fast in penitential fires " ; she is comforted in turn by those who " in heaven ever cleave to God ". Such is the Catholic conception of the communion of saints a bond which holds together all the children of God ; a bond which death does not sever, which stretches into the unseen, which is transfigured in the world of light, and unites eternally all of Christ's flock " in the fold upon the everlasting hills ".

IV

The Word "Catholic ".—The addition " Catholic " did not find its way into any Western Creed till well on in the fifth century. In the East, it was taken into the Creed at a much earlier date. It is in the Creed of Jerusalem, in that of the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions*, and was finally incorporated in what is known as the Nicene Creed. Many of the Eastern Churches being of Apostolic foundation, got the Creed immediately from one or other of the Apostles. But none of them, it would appear, kept it in the very phrase, without any addition whatever, as did the

Apostolic Church of Rome. If we could only be quite sure that Marcellus of Ancyra gives us the very words of the Creed which he got from his " forefathers in God ", we should be able to point to at least one Eastern Creed, and that the earliest known of formal Eastern Creeds, in which the word " Catholic " does not occur. But we cannot be sure of this; for Marcellus was mainly concerned to set forth all the articles of his Baptismal Creed, and would not be over solicitous about reproducing the exact words. Even if he had learned from his forefathers in God to confess his faith in " the holy Catholic Church ", he would feel that there was no great need of writing the word " Catholic " down, as being something that could be taken for granted. And in fact, St Augustine, in whose Creed the word found no place, does take it for granted, saying, " the holy Church, Catholic, of course[1] ". The Symbol had long outlived its use as the Christian watchword when Marcellus came to Rome, and the precise wording of its several clauses was therefore a matter of much less moment. This serves, too, to account for the readiness with which the Creed of Marcellus was received and approved in the East, a few years after, at the Council of Sardica[2], a fact which, in its turn, confirms the traditional Catholic view of the Nicene Creed as being but an elaborated form of the ancient Symbol of the Apostles, which existed from the first in the East as well as in the West. The " descent into hell " was not as yet in the Baptismal Creed of the East in the

[1] *De Fide et Symbolo*, c. 101.

[2] Cf. St Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad Monach.*, n. 6 (Migne, tome 25, col. 700). The Saint gives us to understand that Marcellus was now an old man when he " deemed it needful ", as he phrases it himself (Migne, tome 8), to come to Rome to clear himself of the charge of heresy brought against him by the Eusebians.

time of Marcellus, as Rufinus bears witness; neither had "the communion of saints" been added at the time anywhere, whether in the East or in the West. But while Marcellus does not cite "Catholic", he does cite the only other notable addition to the Apostolic Symbol, namely, "the life everlasting". Perhaps, too, he may have omitted Catholic, supposing it to have been in the Creed of his baptism, because it was not so much part of the Symbol as part of the name of the Church, which it is not always needful to give in full. "Catholic Church" means neither more nor less to the Catholic than "Church", or the "holy Church" of the Old Roman Creed.

V

The Name Catholic.—And this brings us to another point, the use of "Catholic" with "Church" as the distinctive and peculiar name of the religious society founded by Jesus Christ. We have seen that it was in the East the word first made its way into the Creed, at what time we know not. It is not a little significant that it is in the East, too, the time-honoured appellation "Catholic Church" makes its first appearance in written records. In the New Testament the one word "Church" is the name given to that visible organization of which Christ is the Founder and chief corner-stone, and in which Peter is by Christ's own act made the foundation and the key-bearer, and given, not conjointly with the other Apostles only (*Matt.* 18 : 18), but by himself alone supreme power to bind and to loose (*Ibid.*, 16 : 19). The reader is referred to the following chapter for an account of the way the word Catholic would appear to

have first come into use as the distinctive element in the name of the Church. It " was not intended ", observes on this head the keenly critical Professor McGiffert, " to mark the distinction between the Church at large and the individual church or congregation, for the latter might be as truly καθολική as the former[1], but rather apparently to indicate the universal purpose or signficance of the Church. The Church was universal, not simply because it was spread everywhere, but because it was for every one, and so belonged to and had a meaning for the whole world[2]". To St Ignatius, in whose writings the term Catholic first occurs, " Church " and " Catholic Church " mean one and the same thing. " Let no one do anything pertaining to the Church ", he writes, " apart from the bishop ; let that be esteemed a sure Eucharist which is administered either by the bishop or by those to whom he has committed it. Where the bishop is seen, there let the body of believers be ; even as where Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church[3]". That the word Catholic was already used in the first half of the second century without special reference to its meaning, and simply as a proper name, appears from a passage in the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna which was written on occasion of the martyrdom of Polycarp. It is related there how the holy Bishop and Martyr made mention in his prayer " of the whole Catholic Church throughout the world " (sect. viii)[4]. Here the epithet " Catholic " would be pleonastic, were it descriptive and not appellative, for its meaning is fully expressed by " whole " and " throughout the world ". This tends further to

[1] Cf. Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 8 ; *Mart. Polyc.* 16, 19.
[2] *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 198.
[3] *Smyrn.* 8. [4] Migne, tome 5, col. 1041.

confirm the tradition of the Apostolic authorship of the Symbol. Had not the Creed been composed till some time in the second century, the Church would have been known in it from the first by her distinctive name. And as no hypothesis can withstand the shock of even one opposing fact, it also serves to overturn Professor McGiffert's theory of the later origin of the use of " Catholic " as an appellative.

VI

From an Historical Point of View.—The passage in which Professor McGiffert puts this theory forward must be cited in full. It is of especial value. It embodies the testimony of a witness who has gone into the original sources for his facts, and who looks at the matter from a purely historical point of view. He assures us that the word " Catholic " has been from a very early time " simply part of a title ", the formal and distinctive part of the name of the historic Church of Christ.

" As time passed and false teaching began to make trouble within the church and to require the exclusion of individuals and bodies of Christians, the phrase Καθολική Ἐκκλησία came to mean the true Christian church—the one only orthodox church—in distinction from all heretical and schismatical bodies which might call themselves churches, but which in the eyes of Christians in general were not really so. This meaning appears already in the Muratorian fragment, and is common from the third century on. (Cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetics*, XVIII, 26.) This true Christian church being a particular visible organized institution, distinguishable from other institutions claiming the name of Christian and more or less similar to it in character, the phrase Καθολική

Ἐκκλησία acquired the force of a mere title or proper name, and so might be used, as it commonly was after the third century, without any thought of the meaning of the word catholic. [It has been shown above that it was so used already in the earlier half of the second century]. When the title was reflected upon and analysed it was commonly interpreted to mean existing everywhere, and to refer to the universal spread of the church over against the local character of the schismatic churches: thus, for instance, by Optatus and Augustine in their controversy with the Donatists. But there is no reason to think that the word catholic was added to the creed in order to express a belief in the universality of the Church [that it was added to the *name* in order to draw attention to the universality of the Church is the thesis maintained in the next chapter], or in any other of its attributes, but simply as a part of the common and familiar name by which the Church was known. Nothing more was meant by *sanctam ecclesiam catholicam* than by *sanctam ecclesiam* alone. To read into the word *catholicam* in the creed, therefore, a special meaning of its own [which Zahn does, *The Articles of the Apostles' Creed*, p. 180] is not historically justified. It is simply part of a title, just as to-day 'The Catholic Church' is the popular title of the Roman communion".—pp. 199-200.

VII

A Question of Vital Moment.—Here comes up a question that has greatly exercised the critics, a question, too, of vital moment. What did the expression "Catholic Church" stand for in the minds of the early Christians? Harnack, who incidentally mentions the interesting fact that the addition of Catholic was abolished by the Protestant Churches in Germany, under Luther, and replaced by Christian,

contends that " Originally it meant nothing more than the universal Church, the whole Christian community called of God on earth. The idea of applying it to the concrete, visible Church was not ", he alleges, " yet, *i.e.*, in the second century, thought of[1] ". Zahn holds that in " its original meaning the word Catholic reminds us only of an attribute of the Church which contributes essentially to make her an object of faith ". Following the received Protestant theory, he makes the Church of the Creed an invisible Church. But he admits that " another use of the words Catholic Church developed itself in the second century side by side with the original one ". Out of this use " arose the opposition of the one great Catholic Church and the smaller heretical communities, which nevertheless called themselves Churches also, and were even so called occasionally by their opponents". This second use, however, he deems an " unfortunate mode of speech[2] ". The Anglican Swete combats this view which would make of the early Catholic Church " an invisible abstraction, realized by a mental process, but possessing as yet no tangible form ". He points out that " this is true of the Church in the same sense as it is true of every world-wide society which cannot be presented to the eye in its completeness ; but it is no less true of the later Catholic Church than of its earliest beginnings. On the other hand, the units which compose the Catholic Church were as concrete and visible in the days of Ignatius as in those of Cyprian. When Ignatius argues that the Bishop is the centre of the particular Church, as Jesus Christ is of the whole Society, he certainly

[1] *The Apostles' Creed* (*The Nineteenth Century*, July 1893, p. 173).
[2] *The Articles of the Apostles' Creed*, p. 183.

means by the Catholic Church the aggregate of all the Christian congregations, which were visible and concrete bodies[1]".

VIII

The Church One and Visible.—To enter here into this question fully would carry us too far afield. Yet something must be said. It is obvious to remark, at the outset, that the "Catholic Church" of the sub-apostolic age is identical with the "holy Church" of the Creed and the "Church" of the New Testament. The Faith of the sub-apostolic age is the Faith of the apostolic age and of the New Testament. Now, the Church of the New Testament is a visible Church, and it is one. Many local churches are mentioned, but one is the Church which Christ founded. In the prophetical writings of the Old Testament it is outlined as (1) one, "a Kingdom" which "the God of heaven shall set up, which shall never be destroyed" (*Dan.* 2 : 44); as (2) visible, aye, "the mountain of the Lord's house established in the top of the mountains" (*Is.* 2 : 2). Christ Himself, the Founder, always speaks of it in the singular number, as "my Church" (*Matt.* 16 : 18) and "the Church" (*Ibid.*, 18 : 17), never in the plural. He means it plainly to be a visible Church, "a city set upon a hill" (*Matt.* 5 : 14). He draws a sharp line of demarcation between it and the great invisible congregation of all believers which mounts up to the beginning of the race, when He says to Peter, *upon this rock will I build my Church* (*Matt.* 16 : 18).

And this is the conception of the Church which

[1] *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 76.

prevailed, too, in the sub-apostolic time. Ignatius "means by the Catholic Church the aggregate of all the Christian congregations which were visible and concrete bodies"; this is quite true, but it is only half of the truth. These visible and concrete bodies are no mere aggregate, but one great communion, one society, held together by a close organic bond. They coalesce into what the Saint calls "one body of His Church[1]". The institution of the Papacy and the Holy Spirit acting in and with the Apostles solved once for all and from the beginning what has been happily described as the problem of "throwing a network of ecclesiastical organization over" all nations "without its breaking along the lines of national cleavage". As a consequence of this the member who was cut off from the communion of one of those "Christian congregations" was, by that very fact, cut off from the communion of all—of the Catholic Church, in short. Hence we find Ignatius saying, "All that are of God, and Jesus Christ, these are with the Bishop; and all that shall repent and turn to the unity of the Church, these also shall be of God" (*Phil.* 3). Hence, when Marcion is cast out of the Church, in Pontus, he seeks in vain to gain admission into the Church in Rome. Hence, too, one of those "concrete and visible units" which composed the Church of Christ in the sub-apostolic age, can describe itself as "the Catholic Church of Smyrna[2]" conscious of its organic connection with "that Church which is in each several place[3]", conscious of seeking "the union of the Church", and of having no part with those who "sever and distract Christ's

[1] *Ad. Smyr.* c. 1. [2] Cf. *Martyr. Polyc.*, 16 and 19.
[3] Irenæus, *Adv. Haer.*, Bk 4; c. 33, n. 8.

great and glorious Body, and, as far as in them lies, make away with it[1]". To Zahn, in view of "the meaning of the word (Catholic) and of" what he conceives to have been "the original use of the term, it seems an absolute contradiction in terms to speak of the Bishop of the Catholic Church of Smyrna[2]". It could not so have seemed to those men of the sub-apostolic age, else they would never have used it. The usage is at least partly accounted for by the explanation given above. We reach the full explanation when we call to mind that "Catholic Church" is used in the same document as the distinctive name and title of the one true Church of Christ. No congregation of the Nicolaits, or of the Valentinians that might then have existed in Smyrna would dare call itself the "Catholic Church".

IX

A Specious Objection.—But here an objection must be met, which shall be stated at length in the words of Zahn:

"If faith is a steadfast waiting for things hoped for and a proving of things not seen (*Heb.* 11 : 1), then the thought of primitive Christianity expressed in the words, *I believe a Holy Church*, was very important. For in her being and in her essential character the Church is invisible, however visible and tangible her embodiments and her manifold modes of appearing may be. Without the indwelling Holy Spirit, whom we cannot see, the Church would be a corpse; without the Christ who is ascended into heaven she would only be a trunk; and again without the risen Christ as the corner and the key-stone on which her faithful ones, like Him, build themselves

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 7. [2] *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 183.

up as living stones, she would be a house of cards. Without those generations of the faithful, who have gone before, the church at any moment, even without taking into account the divisions and the equally unnatural alliances existing at the time, would be but a fragment. And not only would she be this, but she is in fact. I hold the holy Church only in the hope that one day all will be reunited, who belong to one another but are now separated, by time and place, by the imperfection of human knowledge, and by death; and that all the children of God who have ever lived, perfected and reunited, will one day appear that which Christ would have them to be. Until the fulfilment of this hope the Church is a mystery which I either believe or, otherwise, do not possess".—*Op. cit.*, p. 179.

And at page 184:

"It cannot be an article of faith to believe the palpable fact that the local communities, whose Bishops were a Polycarp or an Augustine, possessed the same confessions as the large Christian communities of other towns and lands, and were in communion with them, while the same did not hold good of the followers of a Marcion or an Arius".

The gist of this may be put briefly thus. Belief in the holy Church, or the holy Catholic Church, is part of the Creed and an article of Faith; therefore the Church is invisible. We must distinguish the sense of the conclusion. The Church, so far forth as it is an article of faith, is invisible; this we grant. The Church, so far forth as it is a Society composed of a ruling and teaching authority and the multitude of believers in every land who hold the same Faith, is invisible; this must be denied. Zahn's error on this head comes of his failing to distinguish the human element in the Church from the divine, the visible

from the invisible. The self-same Church is at once visible and invisible, visible in respect of her body, invisible in respect of her soul. Zahn all unconsciously brings his Protestant preconceptions to the study of this subject. But his treatment of it throughout is so reverent that it lends an added pathos to the last words of the first citation given above. And one is glad to be able to believe that he belongs to what theologians have not inaptly named the " soul " of that one, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church with which he plainly feels himself not to be in visible communion.

X

A Divine Organism.—Zahn is " near the kingdom of God " when he says that " without the indwelling Holy Spirit, whom we cannot see, the Church would be a corpse ". Therefore it is a living body, and living because the Holy Spirit gives it life. And this life is visible, in the activities of a living body, the Catholic Church. To many it is an object of sight only. To others it is an object of both sight and faith. So was Jesus Christ on earth an object of sight to all, and of both sight and faith to " those who had eyes to see ". He was an object of faith, even before He became invisible. It was not flesh and blood but the Father in Heaven that enabled Peter to believe in Him as the Son of God. For the same reason it is unnecessary to suppose the Church invisible in order to make it the object of an act of faith. By sight we see that the Church is alive. By faith we believe that this life is divine, proceeding from the indwelling Holy Ghost and containing all the supernatural means of truth and grace. It is only

the Protestant preconceptions of Zahn which make him argue on the hypothesis that whatever is divine in the Church is necessarily invisible and that whatever is visible is necessarily human. Applied to Our Lord this hypothesis results in a denial of His divinity. Applied to the Church considered as an object of faith it results in a denial of her visibility. The Protestant doctrine of the sacraments is an instance of the tendency to separate the divine from the visible, a tendency altogether foreign to the Catholic Church of the first age or of any age.

XI

The Roman Symbol Unrevised.—There is one more point, which may as well be dealt with before concluding the present chapter. The text of the Old Roman Creed, which is the Apostolic Symbol in its primitive form, is assumed in these pages to have remained unchanged till after the fifth century. That the additions made since then have in no wise changed, but only unfolded, its meaning, has been, it is hoped, clearly shown in the course of this work. But certain of the critics try to make out that a word was dropped from the first article of the Roman Creed and another added, in the course of the third century. Zahn is of opinion that the form ran, during the second century, "I believe in one God, the Almighty". It would be tedious to enter here upon the reasons which he brings forward in support of this theory. That the Roman Church omitted the word "one" from her Creed to counteract the Unitarianism of Praxeas is, on the face of it, altogether unlikely. This would have been not so much a confession of the

Faith as a confession of weakness. Certainly the burden of proof rests with him who asserts that the word " one " was at first in the Roman Creed, and it is no proof to show that it occurs in the creed-forms that are to be found in Irenæus and Tertullian. Neither of these writers cites or pretends to cite the Creed word for word. And as the oneness of God was clearly implied in the first article, they would not scruple to set forth the idea explicitly in their controversy with the dualists of their day.

When Leo the Great, in his letter to Flavian of Constantinople, declared, " All the Faithful profess to believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ His Only Son ", one of the Eutychians queried, " Why did he not say in one God the Father, and in one Jesus, according to the decree of the Council of Nice "? To this Vigilius of Thapsus was able to make the following reply: " But in Rome, even before the Nicene Council met, from the time of the Apostles onward, and under Celestine of blessed memory . . . the Symbol was so given to the faithful; nor does the wording matter so long as the sense remains unimpaired. This profession of the Faith, too, is more in accord with the words of Jesus Christ, where He says: You believe in God, believe in Me also (*John* 14 : 1). He did not say in one God the Father, and in one Christ; for who is there but knows that God the Father is one, and that His Son Jesus Christ is one[1] "? This seems decisive of the matter. The Apostles would use the simpler form " God " rather than " one God ", the more so that the Master, so far as His words have been embalmed in the Gospels, never uses the expression " one God ", excepting once

[1] *Def. Ep. S. Leonis Papæ*, n. 1 (Migne, tome 62, col. 119).

in the form of a citation from the Old Testament (*Mark* 12 : 29), and even in this instance "one" stands in the predicative, not in the attributive, relation to "God".

XII

The Word "Father."—Neither does Zahn succeed in showing that "Father" was added to the primitive Creed. On the contrary, in his attempt to show it, he does but contradict himself. At page 56, he considers it "as proved that the Creed of the Gallican Church, the Churches of Asia Minor [including, of course, that of Ephesus] and Africa, and also of the Roman Church, which was the mother of the African, ran thus during the second century: 'I believe in one God, the Almighty'". But at page 74 he tells us that "something more may be said with tolerable certainty about the contents of Justin's baptismal confession than that it contained the names of God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost in this order". If this is so, then the word "Father" was in the Creed, after all, during the second century, and the statement proved in the first citation is disproved in the second. And indeed the place of "Father" in the Creed was as secure from the first as that of Son and Holy Ghost. For the Creed, as Zahn himself maintains, is based on the baptismal formula, which runs "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost".

XIII

The Forgetful Critic.—Had Zahn but kept in view the fact to which he himself so unequivocally bears

witness at page 43, he would have seen that the formulary which he pieces together from second century writings is, and from the nature of the case needs must be, conjectural, at least so far as the precise wording of it goes. For if "it is true that neither Irenæus nor Tertullian has given the exact form of the rule of truth", being "kept back by the principle maintained for hundreds of years in the Church, that this confession should not be written with pen and ink, but should be imprinted on the heart and memory"; and if it is furthermore true that "We cannot in every case determine what belongs to the formula contained in the author's memory and what is his own addition, explanation, or definition, suggested by the occasion and the opposition at the time"; what basis of stable fact is left us whereon to build a certainty?

CHAPTER XVI

THE NAME CATHOLIC

I

A Rejected Hypothesis.—Of the name Catholic Church in the first century all that written records enable us to say is that it was already in use. The mention of it by St Ignatius in a way which supposes it to have been already well known proves this much ; but there is no positive evidence of the way the appellation first came to be used. Inquirers have therefore to resort to hypotheses, and of these there are three which claim to account for its origin.

Some suggest that as the word " Church " was used sometimes to mean the whole Church and sometimes a particular church, as that of Corinth, for instance, the word " Catholic " was adopted to mark the distinction. The Rev. R. E. Bartlett, late Fellow of Oxford University says :

" The Catholic Church meant originally the whole congregation of Christian people scattered throughout the world, as opposed to the smaller congregations of Christians dwelling in separate cities or meeting in a particular house ".

This hypothesis is excluded by the records of antiquity. It has been shown in the preceding chapter that particular Churches were also called Catholic in the sub-Apostolic age.

II

Another Hypothesis.—Other writers suggest that the rise of heresies was the occasion of the Church being called Catholic, to distinguish her from the sects. St Pacian, in a well known passage, puts forth this hypothesis, not because he thought it well founded, for his own opinion was that the word had a divine origin, but as a passing concession to his Novatian correspondent when some hypothesis became necessary in his argument. There is a sense in which this hypothesis may be well founded. Individual members may have adopted the name of the Church for themselves in this way. For some centuries they called themselves Christians; but when heretics persisted in claiming the Christian name and it was found impossible to refuse it to any who were baptized and who professed belief in Christ, members of the true Church had, in course of time, to adopt the name of the Church and call themselves Catholics to mark the distinction between themselves and heretics. But the word was applied to the Church first, and was applicable to the members only when it came into use as the proper name of the Church. As an explanation of the way the Church herself came to be called Catholic the second hypothesis is but an improbable guess. It supposes that the argument from universality was used commonly and with much public insistence against the sects at a time when the immediate disciples of the Apostles were still everywhere accessible, when all the Sees founded by the Apostles were still orthodox, and when the heresies to be opposed were the very same as those

already expressly condemned by the Apostles. A name was undoubtedly needed to distinguish the Church from the sects, even if we cannot suppose that the argument from universality was much used against heretics at the time; but, if opposition to heresy had been the occasion of selecting a new name, the Church would have been called the Apostolic Church, not the Catholic Church, and the members Apostolics, not Catholics. For many years after the introduction of the Catholic name the common argument against heretics was Apostolic tradition.

III

Catholic and Christian.—Even as late as the fourth century St Athanasius was able to use the following argument:

"Formerly, when we were all united Christians both in doctrine and name, Marcion became a heretic and was excommunicated, and those who sided with the Bishop that had expelled him retained the name of Christians, whilst those that continued with him were called Marcionites. So, too, Valentinus, Basilides, Manichæus, and Simon Magus, gave their names to those who became their disciples. These were named after them—Valentinians, Basilidians, Manichees, and Simonians. Likewise the Cataphrygians take their name from Phrygia, and the Novatians from Novatus . . . Exactly in the same way, after Alexander of blessed memory had excommunicated Arius, those who kept with Alexander were known as Christians as before, but those that separated with Arius abandoned our Saviour's name, and from that time were denominated Arians. And since Alexander's death, those that are in communion with his successor, Athanasius, and with such other Bishops as he is in communion with, keep the

same title; and not only do they call themselves Christians, but everyone does so everywhere as a matter of course".—*Second Oration against the Arians*[1].

Individual Catholics were therefore still called Christians in contradistinction to heretics. Is it reasonable to suppose that two hundred and fifty years before this time the Church needed to be called other than Christian in contradistinction to heretical bodies? Or that individual members could have so long retained a name different from that of the Church if both names had reference to the same thing? The second hypothesis must be allowed to go the way of the first.

IV

A Many-Nationed Church.—Hurter, in his *Compendium Theologiæ*, bases his definition of Catholicity on the second hypothesis, with the result that his treatment of the subject is vague and unsatisfactory. Billot, a much abler theologian, returns to the traditional definition, the one given by the Catechism of the Council of Trent, and the one discussed in so masterly a way by Lacordaire in his *Conférences*. This definition is based, not on contradistinction to the different sects, but on the inclusion of different peoples. The world-wide mission of the Church is, of course, supposed in all cases; but the actual diffusion which constitutes catholicity must always be relative either to sects without or to people within. Which of these divisions was the original occasion of the Church being called Catholic? The third hypothesis is that the Church was so called as being a many-

[1] *Opera Athanasii*, tome 1, p. 308 (*Ed. Nov., Coloniæ*, 1686).

nationed Church in contradistinction to the Church of the Jews which consisted of only one nation.

The Fathers adduce the calling of the Gentiles as prophesied by Isaias in confirmation of their idea of Catholicity, when " the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together ". That is, the Gentile nations, despite their diversities of race and civilization, their opposing interests and natural jealousies, shall abide together in one Church. This is the true idea of Catholicity. Its opposite is the idea that each nation should have a separate independent Church.

No one pretends that the Bishops met in the first century and formally adopted the name Catholic. It must have come into use in some other way. Nor would there be any difficulty at all if it were only a question of an adjective denoting an essential quality of the Church. The existence of the quality would sufficiently account for the origin of the word. The words " holy " and " Apostolic " came naturally into use in this way. But the adoption of a name is a very different matter. It is the selection of one among several possible words. How did it happen that the same name was adopted everywhere? There must have been some event or influence of general and impressive importance to lead all to concur in adopting the same name.

V

Patriotism and Religion.—At the time of the Ascension the Apostles had not received full instruction regarding the catholicity of the Church. Their last

question to the Master implies their belief that Israel was to retain a privileged position in the Kingdom of God. They asked whether He would then restore the Kingdom to Israel. His reply showed, indeed, that the Kingdom was to be universal; but as to the position of Israel in it, it was not for them to know the times or moments which the Father had put in His own power. This reserve was part of a merciful plan, so to say, by which salvation was offered to the Jews without sudden shock to their keen sense of nationality. The transition from the Jewish to the Christian Church was thus made gradual—the Kingdom came without observation. After the day of Pentecost converts were received in large numbers; but in their case conversion did not involve separation from the Church of the Jews. This was a divine institution, and separation from it was not yet imposed as a duty. The converts as well as the Apostles continued to worship in the Temple and observe the Law of Moses. Christian children were still circumcised. For several years the Apostles preached only to the children of the circumcision. To the Gentiles the Christian Church presented the appearance of a Jewish sect, and the faithful were called Galileans and Nazarenes. Without further direct intervention of God it could never have become anything else. How were the Gentiles to be brought in? The Apostles did not know. We can scarcely imagine them even raising the question whether all nations were to be on a footing of equality in the Church. Patriotism and religion were so closely interwoven in their minds that, in the absence of revelation, they would naturally infer that the Church was to be universal by a universal extension of Jewish

nationality, and that the Gentiles would have first to become Jews by being circumcised as a necessary step to their becoming Christians. But whatever the Apostles may have inferred, they came to no decision. They continued to evangelize the Jews until, after twelve years, God gave them new light through Peter, their Leader and Chief.

VI

Jew and Gentile.—A scene fraught with significance is set before us in the tenth chapter of the Acts. By a heavenly ritual more expressive than words, and incomparably more impressive, St Peter is taught that the Law of Moses has ceased to bind, and that no man is henceforth to be called common or unclean. He is then led to receive a Gentile family into the Church by baptism, and without any rite connecting the converts with the Jewish nation. On returning to Jerusalem he finds the brethren greatly excited over the admission of Cornelius. Why was he not first circumcised? Was this the way to restore the Kingdom to Israel? Then Peter tells them of the revelation he has received, and many rejoice with him that "in every nation he that feareth God and worketh justice is acceptable to Him". The solution of the great problem is now given. To the Apostles at least it is clear that the universality of the Church involves the admission of other nations on equal terms with the Jews.

VII

A Crisis in the Church.—But the national sentiment is tenacious. The Christians of Jerusalem soon lapsed

into their former state of mind. The case of Cornelius, they told themselves, was an exception, a dispensation granted by God; but the general rule must be circumcision, after the manner of Moses, for Gentile converts. Then there came to them one day an item of news from Antioch which disturbed them more than the case of Cornelius. They were told that many Gentiles had been received there without circumcision, and that these actually called themselves *Christians*, not Israelites or Galileans, thus emphasizing their independence of Israel. This time they concluded that something had to be done to counteract such anti-national proceedings, and some of them hastened to Antioch, without any commission from the Apostles, as St James afterwards explained. At Antioch "Paul and Barnabas had no small contest with them". The peace of the Church demanded an immediate and final decision, and it was agreed to refer the question to the Apostles in Jerusalem. Thus, what is called the Council of Jerusalem was convened to define the nature of the Church's catholicity. Was the Church to embrace all nations on a footing of equality, or was she to embrace them through one privileged nation? When all were assembled St Peter made it clear that the case of Cornelius, instead of being an exception, gave a divine ruling for the admission of the Gentiles. St James added arguments from the Prophets confirming what Peter had related, "how God first visited to take of the Gentiles a people to His name", and suggested the form of decree by which the Church was freed forever from national restrictions in religion. There must have been many a sore heart among the Jewish Christians that day.

To see their nation placed on a level with other nations in religion, and excluded from a position of privilege in the Kingdom of God, after having been the chosen people for so many centuries, must have made submission to the Apostolic decree a hard trial to many. Some, in fact, refused to submit and left the Church, while those who remained faithful long retained a degree of antipathy to other nations, and insisted on certain Jewish practices which caused much friction in social intercourse (*Gal.* 2 : 12).

VIII

The Church Catholic.—Thus gradually did the Church emerge from the conflicts of the time as a society held together by a bond of religion superior to the divisions of nationhood. This was something the world had never seen before, and great was the admiration, and great the opposition, it excited. A many-nationed Church was as great a novelty to the Gentile as it was to the Jew. Each nation had a religion of its own, and a particular religion was included in the very notion of nationality, in much the same way as each nation was supposed to have a particular language. "Which in other generations was not known to the sons of men", says St Paul, referring to this very thing, namely, "that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs and of the same Body and co-partners of His promise in Christ Jesus by the Gospel". This "mystery", as he calls it, had been revealed to him as to the other Apostles, and he became its prophet. He had a formula of comprehension which he repeated everywhere, with slight variations, to convey the new and wonderful truth that the Church

of Christ is above national divisions, that one member of it cannot call another a foreigner with respect to religion, and that all nations when admitted are fellow-heirs and co-partners within the Church. With the great dividing line of nationality he sometimes enumerates the social divisions that naturally go with it, and declares that these too find room in one Church. "Christ is our peace, who hath made both (Jew and Gentile) one". "There is no distinction of the Jew and the Greek". "In one Spirit were we all baptized into one Body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond (slave) or free". "There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female". "There is neither Gentile nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all". This was not merely the teaching that man should cultivate fellow feeling with man, despite all natural differences; but rather that Christ had done some great and wonderful thing to reconcile all those differences in one Body. St Paul was stating a marvellous fact visible to all, that a many-nationed Institution had, through Christ, come into existence, and this Institution he calls one Body. Hitherto the people of God, however wonderful in other respects, was but a nation among other nations. The Church of the Jews was national; the Church of Christ is—what? A new word was needed to express the contrast, and the word CATHOLIC was soon found. The events and the circumstances of the time made this characteristic of the Church more prominent and more impressive than any other. The continual conflicts with the Jews and the Judaizers; the much talked of Council of Jerusalem;

the novelty of a many-nationed Church ; the frequent preaching of it as such by the Apostles and their successors ; and the never-ending conflict between duty and inclination in those who admitted and admired the duty of unity, but still felt within themselves the working of the old heathen or Jewish hatred of foreigners—all these things combined to give the word CATHOLIC the prominence of a proper name.

IX

True Comprehensiveness.—The early Church was all-comprehensive in respect of national divisions and also of the social divisions within each nation. Greek and Scythian, master and servant, high and low, rich and poor, male and female, were admitted without distinction and worshipped at the same altar. This comprehensiveness or catholicity of the Church has reference to the natural divisions among men. It involves the duty of being liberal in the things that are ours, whether national or social, for the sake of unity in the things that are Christ's. The Church of the Apostles was liberal in matters national and social, but conservative and exclusive in matters of faith. Those who caused divisions in doctrine were marked persons and to be avoided. It is the fashion nowadays to honour the Catholic Name. Even the Evangelicals are following at a distance the Anglican example of respect for antiquity. A nonconformist catechism published in England has questions and answers regarding the holy Catholic Church of the Apostles' Creed. This revived respect for the name does not yet include a realizing sense of the stern

Scriptural reality which the name connotes. To be liberal in national and social relations is one of the difficult duties which Catholicism imposes. To be liberal in the things of Christ and thus make Christian unity of small account is a privilege to which the natural man thinks he has a right. He seeks to transfer comprehensiveness from the natural sphere, where Scripture places it, to the supernatural sphere, where Scripture forbids it.

APPENDIX I

DE SYMBOLO

Apostolus dicit : Erit, omnis qui inuocauerit nomen domini saluus erit Ad istam salutem curritis, qui nomina uestra dedistis ad baptismum : salutem, non parui temporis, sed aeterni : salutem, quae non est nobis pecoribusque communis, neque hominibus bonis et malis. Videtis enim, et certum est omnibus nobis, quoniam salus praesentis temporis, pro qua obtinenda uel reparanda multum homines laborant, non soli homines habent, sed etiam pecora, magna et parua : a draconibus et elefantis usque ad muscas et uermiculos pertendit haec salus. Deinde ipsi homines habent istam salutem, et qui inuocant deum et qui blasphemant deum ; unde dicit sanctus psalmus : Homines et iumenta saluos facies domine, sicut multiplicata est misericordia tua deus ; filii autem hominum sub tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt. Salus ergo ista per multiplicem misericordiam dei peruenit ad extrema animalia : filii autem hominum, qui pertinent ad filium hominis, sub tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt. Hoc facimus in hac uita : modo speramus, quod postea accipiamus. Et quid promittit ipse psalmus ? Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuae, et torrente uoluptatis tuae potabis eos : quoniam apud te est fons uitae. Fons uitae Christus est : ut modo de illo aliquid gustaremus, homo factus est ; seruatur autem nobis eius ubertas, quae satiat angelos et omnia caelestia ministeria. Sed hoc postea : modo autem, ut ad illud peruenire possimus, deum inuocemus ut salui simus, secundum apostolum qui dixit : Omnis qui inuocauerit nomen domini, saluus erit. Propheta hoc antea dizerat : sed Paulus apostolus dixit modo transisse tempus quando inpleatur quod scriptum est, Omnis qui inuocauerit nomen domini, saluus erit. Iam dixi qua salute, ne forte modo dicatis : Quare et inuocantes nomen domini non salui sunt.? Saluus erit. Deinde adiunxit ipse apostolus : Quomodo autem inuocabunt, in quem non crediderunt ? Aut quomodo credunt, quemnon audierunt ? Quomodo autem audient sine praedicante ? Aut quomodo praedicabunt, si non mittantur ? Sicut scriptum est : Quam speciosi pedes euangelizantium pacem, euangelizantium bona ! Nemo ergo potest saluus esse, qui non inuocauerit : nemo potest inuocare, nisi primo crediderit. Quia ergo iste ordo est, ut prius credatis, postea inuocetis, hodie accipitis symbolum fidei, in quo credatis ; post octo autem dies orationem, in qua inuocetis.

2. *Symbolum est ergo breuiter conplexa regula fidei, ut mentem instruat, nec oneret memoriam ; paucis uerbis dicatur, unde multum adquiratur. Symbolum ergo dicitur, in quo se agnoscant Christiani : hoc est quod primum uobis breuiter pronuntiabo. Deinde, quantum dominus donare dignatus fuerit, aperiam uobis ; ut quod tenere uos uolo, et intellegere ualeatis. Hoc est symbolum. Et post symbolum : Non est multum, et multum est ; non opus est ut uerba numeretis, sed appendatis. Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem. Vide quam cito dicitur, et quantum ualet. Deus est, et pater est : deus potestate, pater bonitate. Quam felices sumus, qui deum nostrum patrem inuenimus ! Credamus ergo in eum, et omnia nobis de ipsius misericordia promittamus, quia omnipotens est : ideo in deum patrem omnipotentem credimus. Nemo dicat : Non mihi potest dimittere peccata. Quomodo non potest omnipotens ? Sed dicis : Ego multum peccaui. Et ego dico : Sed ille omnipotens est. Et tu : Ego talia peccata commisi, unde liberari et*

mundari non possum. Respondeo : Sed ille omnipotens est. Videte quid et cantetis in psalmo : Benedic, inquit, anima mea domino, et noli obliuisci omnes retributiones eius, qui propitius fit omnibus iniquitatibus tuis, qui sanat omnes languores tuos. Ad hoc nobis est eius omnipotentia necessaria. Nam uniuersae creaturae ad hoc erat necessaria, ut crearetur : omnipotens est ad facienda maiora et minora, omnipotens est ad caelestia et terrestria, omnipotens est ad facienda immortalia et mortalia, omnipotens est ad facienda spiritalia et corporalia, omnipotens est ad facienda uisibilia et inuisibilia, magnus in magnis, nec paruus in minimis ; postremo omnipotens est ad facienda omnia quae facere uoluerit. Nam ego dico quanta non possit : non potest mori, non potest peccare, non potest mentiri, non potest falli ; tanta non potest, quae si posset, non esset omnipotens. Credite ergo in eum, et confitemini : Corde enim creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem. Ideo cum crediderítis, oportet ut confiteamini, quando symbolum redditis. Accipite modo quod teneatis, et postea reddatis, et numquam obliuiscamini.

3. *Post hoc quid ? Et in Iesum Christum. Credo, dicis, in deum patrem omnipotentem, et in Iesum Christum filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum. Si filium unicum, ergo patri aequalem : si filium unicum, ergo eiusdem substantiae cuius est pater : si filium unicum, ergo eius omnipotentiae cuius est pater : si filium unicum, ergo patri coaeternum. Hoc in se, et apud se, et apud patrem. Propter nos quid ? Ad nos quid ? Qui natus est de spiritu sancto et uirgine Maria. Ecce qua uenit, quis, ad quos : per uirginem Mariam, in qua operatus est spiritus sanctus, non homo maritus ; qui fecundauit castam, et seruauit intactam. Sic ergo carne indutus est dominus Christus, sic factus est homo qui fecit hominem : assumendo quod non erat, non perdendo quod erat. Verbum enim caro factum est, et habitauit in nobis. Non Verbum in carnem uersum est, sed Verbum manens carne accepta, inuisibilis semper, factus est uisibilis quando uoluit, et habitauit in nobis. Quid est, in nobis ? In hominibus, factus unus ex hominum numero : unus et unicus, unicus patri. Nobis quid ? Et nobis unicus saluator, nemo enim praeter ipsum saluator noster ; et nobis unicus redemptor, nemo enim praeter ipsum redemptor noster : non auro, non argento, sed sanguine suo.*

4. *Ergo ipsa, ubi empti sumus, eius commercia uideamus. Cum enim dictum esset in symbolo, natus de spiritu sancto et uirgine Maria, iam quid pro nobis passus est ? Sequitur : Sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus et sepultus. Quid ? Filius dei unicus dominus noster crucifixus ? Filius dei unicus dominus noster sepultus ? Homo crucifixus est : deus non est mutatus, deus non est occisus ; et tamen secundum hominem occisus : Si enim cognouissent, ait apostolus, numquam dominum gloriae crucifixissent. Et dominum gloriae ostendit, et crucifixum confessus est : quia si quis etiam tuam tunicam illaesa carne tua conscindat, tibi facit iniuriam—; nec sic clamas pro ueste tua, ut dicas, Conscidisti tunicam meam, sed, Conscidisti me, dissipasti me, fila de me fecisti. Loqueris ista integer, et uerum dicis, et de carne tua nihil detraxit qui laesit. Sic et dominus Christus crucifixus est. Dominus est, unicus patri est, saluator noster est, dominus gloriae est : tamen crucifixus est, sed in carne, et sepultus in sola carne. Nam ubi sepultus est, et quando sepultus est, tunc ibi nec anima fuit, sola caro in sepulcro iacebat : et tamen confiteris Iesum Christum filium eius unicum dominum nostrum, qui natus est de spiritu sancto et uirgine Maria. Quis ? Iesus Christus, unicus filius dei, dominus noster. Sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus. Quis ? Iesus Christus, unicus dei filius, dominus noster. Et sepultus. Quis ? Iesus Christus, unicus dei filius, dominus noster. Sola caro iacet, et tu dicis " Dominus noster " ? Dico, plane dico ; quia uestem intueor, et uestitum adoro. Caro illa illius uestimentum fuit : quia cum in forma dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse aequalis deo, sed semet ipsum exinauit, formam serui accipiens, non formam dei amittens, in similitudine hominum factus, et habitu inuentus ut homo.*

5. *Non contemnamus solam carnem : quando iacuit, tunc nos emit. Quare nos emit ? Quia non semper iacuit : tertia enim die resurrexit a mortuis.*

Hoc sequitur in symbolo ; cum confessi fuerimus eius passionem, confitemur et resurrectionem. In passione quid egit ? docuit quid toleremus. In resurrectione quid egit ? ostendit quid speremus. Hic opus, ibi merces : opus in passione, merces in resurrectione. Nec, quia resurrexit a mortuis, hic remansit : sed quid sequitur ? Ascendit in caelum. Et modo ubi est ? Sedet ad dexteram patris. Intellege dexteram, ne quaeras ibi sinistram : dextera dei dicitur aeterna felicitas ; dextera dei dicitur ineffabilis, inaestimabilis, incomprehensibilis beatitudo atque prosperitas. Haec est dextera dei, ibi sedet. Quid est, ibi sedet ? Ibi habitat : sedes enim dicuntur, ubi quisque habitat. Non enim, quando illum uidit Stephanus sanctus, mentiebatur qui dicebat Sedet ad dexteram patris. Quomodo enim dicit Stephanus ? Ecce ego uideo caelum apertum, et filium hominus stantem ad dexteram dei. Quia ille uidit stantem, mentiebatur forte, qui dicebat tunc Sedet ad dexteram patris ? Sedet ergo dictum est : manet, habitat. Quomodo ? quomodo tu. Quo statu ? Quis dicet ? Dicamus quod docuit, dicamus quod nouimus.

6. *Quid ? Inde uenturus iudicaturus uiuos et mortuos. Confiteamur saluatorem, ne timeamus iudicem : qui enim modo in eum credit, et praecepta eius facit, et diligit eum, non timebit, quando ueniet iudicare uiuos et mortuos ; non solum non timebit, sed ut ueniat optabit. Quid enim nobis felicius, quam quando uenit quem desideramus, quando uenit quem amamus ? Sed timeamus, quia iudex noster erit : ipse tunc erit iudex noster, qui modo est aduocatus noster. Audi Iohannem : Si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et ueritas in nobis non est ; si autem confessi fuerimus peccata nostra, dixit, fidelis est et iustus, qui dimittat nobis peccata, et mundet nos ab omni iniquitate. Haec scripsi uobis, ut non peccetis : et si quis peccauerit, aduocatum habemus ad patrem Iesum Christum iustum ; et ipse est exoratio peccatorum nostrorum. Si haberes causam apud aliquem iudicem agendam, et instrueres aduocatum, esses susceptus ab aduocato, ageret causam tuam sicut posset ; et si non illam finisset, et audires illum iudicem uenturum, quantum gauderes, quia ipse potuit esse iudex tuus, qui fuit paulo ante aduocatus tuus ? Et modo ipse pro nobis orat, ipse pro nobis interpellat ; aduocatum eum habemus, et iudicem timemus ? Immo, quia aduocatum praemisimus, securi iudicem uenturum speremus.*

7. *Transitum est in symbolo quod pertinet ad Iesum Christum, filium dei unicum, dominum nostrum ; sequitur Et in spiritum sanctum, ut conpleatur trinitas, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus. Sed de filio multa sunt dicta, quia filius suscepit hominem : filius Verbum caro factum est, non pater, non spiritus sanctus. Sed carnem filii tota trinitas fecit : inseparabilia enim sunt opera trinitatis. Sic ergo accipite spiritum sanctum, ut non credatis minorem esse quam filium, aut minorem esse quam patrem. Pater enim et filius et spiritus sanctus, tota trinitas, unus deus ; nihil ibi distat, nihil uarium, nihil defectiuum, nihil alteri contrarium ; aequale semper, inuisibile et incommutabile, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus. Liberet nos trinitas a multitudine peccatorum.*

8. *Iam quod sequitur ad nos pertinet. In sanctam ecclesiam. Sancta ecclesia nos sumus : sed non sic dixi, nos, quasi ecce qui hic sumus, qui me modo audistis. Quotquot hic sumus deo propitio christiani fideles in hac ecclesia, id est in ista ciuitate, quotquot sunt in ista regione, quotquot sunt in ista prouincia, quotquot sunt et trans mare, quotquot sunt in toto orbe terrarum— quoniam a solis ortu usque ad occasum laudatur nomen domini ; sic se habet ecclesia catholica, mater nostra uera, uera illius sponsi coniunx. Honoremus eam, quia tanti domini matrona est ; et quid dicam ? Magna est sponso et singularis dignatio : meretricem inuenit, uirginem fecit. Quia meretrix fuit, non debet negare, ne obliuiscatur misericordiam liberantis. Quomodo non erat meretrix, quando post idola et daemonia fornicabatur ? Fornicatio cordis in omnibus fuit : in paucis carnis, in omnibus cordis. Et uenit, et uirginem fecit : ecclesiam uirginem fecit. In fide uirgo est : in carne paucas habet uirgines sanctimoniales : in fide omnes uirgines debet habere, et feminas et uiros ; ibi enim debet esse castitas et puritas et sanctitas. Nam uultis nosse*

quam uirgo sit? Apostolum Paulum audite, amicum sponsi audite, zelantem sponso, non sibi. Aptaui uos, inquit, uni uiro. Ecclesiae dicebat: et cui ecclesiae? Quocumque litterae illae peruenire potuerunt: Aptaui uos uni uiro uirginem castam exhibere Christo. Timeo autem, dixit, ne sicut serpens Euam decepit astutia sua, sic uestrae mentes corrumpantur a castitate, quae est in Christo. Ubi times corrumpi, ibi uirgo es. Timeo, dixit, ne sicut serpens Euam seduxit astutia sua. Serpens ille numquid corporaliter concubuit cum Eua? Et tamen uirginitatem cordis eius extinxit. Hoc timeo, dixit, ne corrumpantur mentes uestrae a castitate, quae est in Christo. Virgo est ergo ecclesia. Virgo est, uirgo sit: caueat seductorem, ne inueniat corruptorem. Virgo est ecclesia. Dicturus es mihi forte: Si uirgo est, quomodo parit filios? aut si non parit filios, quomodo dedimus nomina nostra, ut de eius uisceribus nasceremur? Respondeo: et uirgo est, et parit: Mariam imitatur, quae dominum peperit. Numquid non uirgo sancta Maria et peperit, et uirgo permansit? Sic et ecclesia et parit, et uirgo est; et si consideres, Christum parit: quia membra eius sunt, qui baptizantur. Vos estis, inquit apostolus, corpus Christi et membra. Si ergo membra Christi parit, Mariae simillima est.

9. *In remissionem peccatorum. Haec in ecclesia si non esset, nulla spes esset: remissio peccatorum si in ecclesia non esset, nulla futurae uitae et liberationis aeternae spes esset. Gratias agimus deo, qui ecclesiae suae dedit hoc donum. Ecce uenturi estis ad fontem sanctum: diluemini baptismo salutari, lauacro regenerationis renouabimini; eritis sine ullo peccato, ascendentes de illo lauacro. Omnia quae uos praeterita persequebantur, ibi delebuntur. Aegyptiis insequentibus Israhelitas similia erunt uestra peccata; persequentibus, sed usque ad mare Rubrum. Quid est, usque ad mare Rubrum? Usque ad fontem Christi cruce et sanguine consecratum. Quod enim rubrum est, rubet. Non uides, quomodo rubeat pars Christi? Interroga oculos fidei: si crucem uides, attende et cruorem: si uides quod pendet, attende quod fudit. Lancea perforatum est latus Christi, et manauit pretium nostrum. Ideo signo Christi signatur baptismus, id est, aqua ubi tinguimini, et quasi in mari Rubro transitis. Peccata uestra hostes uestri sunt: sequuntur, sed usque ad mare. Cum uos intraueritis, euadetis, illa delebuntur; quomodo euadentibus per siccum Israhelitis aqua cooperuit Aegyptios. Et quid dixit scriptura? Unus ex eis non remansit. Peccasti multa, peccasti pauca: peccasti magna, peccasti parua; quid ad unus ex eis non remansit? Sed quoniam uiuituri sumus in isto saeculo, ubi quis non uiuit sine peccato, ideo remissio peccatorum non est in sola ablutione sacri baptismatis, sed etiam in oratione dominica et cottidiana, quam post octo dies accepturi estis. In illa inuenietis quasi cottidianum baptismum uestrum, ut agatis deo gratias, qui donauit hoc munus ecclesiae suae, quod confitemur in symbolo: ut cum dixerimus sanctum ecclesiam, adiungamus remissionem peccatorum.*

10. *Post haec, carnis resurrectionem. Iste iam finis est: sed finis sine fine erit resurrectio carnis; sed erit postea nulla mors carnis, nullus dolor carnis, nullae angustiae carnis, nulla fames et sitis carnis, nullae afflictiones carnis, nulla senectus et lassitudo carnis. Noli ergo horrere carnis resurrectionem: bona eius uide, mala obliuiscere. Prorsus quecquid querelarum est carnalium modo, tunc ibi non erit: aeterni erimus, aequales angelis dei, unam cum angelis sanctis ciuitatem habebimus. A domino possidebimur, hereditas eius erimus, et ipse hereditas nostra erit; quoniam ipsi dicimus modo: Domine pars hereditatis meae, et de nobis dictum est filio ipsius: Postula a me, et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam. Possidebimus, et possidebimur: tenebimus, et tenebimur. Quid dicam? colimus, et colimur; sed colimus ut deum; colimur ut ager. Ut sciatis quia colimur, dominum audite: Ego sum uitis uera, uos estis sarmenta, pater meus agricola. Si agricola dicitur, agrum colit. Quem agrum? Colit nos. Et agricola terrae huius uisibilis arare potest fodere potest, plantare potest, rigare, si aquam inuenerit, potest: pluere numquid potest? Incrementum dare, germen educere, in terram radicem figere, in auras promouere, robor addere ramis, fructibus onerare, foliis honestare*

numquid agricola potest? Agricola tamen noster, deus pater, omnia ista potest in nobis. Quare? Quia credimus in deum patrem omnipotentem. Ergo tenete quod et proposuimus uobis, et, quomodo deus dare dignatus est, exposuimus.

11. *Ad octo dies reddituri estis, quod hodie accepistis. Parentes uestri, qui uos suscipiunt, doceant uos, ut parati inueniamini, et quomodo uigiletis ad gallicantum, ad orationes quas hic celebratis. Iam incipit uobis et ipsum symbolum hic praeberi, ut diligenter teneatis: nemo trepidet, nemo trepidando non reddat. Securi estote, patres uestri sumus, non habemus ferulas et uirgas grammaticorum. Si quis in uerbo errauerit, in fide non erret.*

[TRANSLATION]

OF THE CREED

The Apostle says: "Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved". You who have given your names for baptism hasten to this salvation, which is not for time but for eternity, which we do not share with animals, nor the just with the wicked. You see, and we all of us know for certain, that the present well-being, which men toil so hard to gain or regain, we have in common with the beasts of the field, great and small. From dragons and elephants to flies and tiniest worms this well-being extends. Besides, both men who honour God and those who blaspheme Him, possess it. So the Psalmist says: "Man and beast shalt thou save, O Lord God, so is thy mercy multiplied; but beneath the shelter of thy wing shall the sons of men have hope". This wellbeing, then, by the multifold mercy of God, reaches out to the least of the creatures that live. But the sons of men, who belong to the Son of Man, 'neath the shadow of thy wing shall hope. This we do in the life that now is: we hope here for what we shall receive hereafter. And what does the Psalmist promise? "They shall be filled with the plenty of thy house, and of the torrent of thy delights thou shalt give them to drink; for with thee is the fountain of life". The fount of life is Christ. He became man to make us taste a little of it in this time; but there is reserved for us the fulness of it where the angels are sated with it and the heavenly ministrants. Let us call upon God now that we may attain to it; for the Apostle says: 'All that call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved". I have told you what this salvation is, lest perchance you say: Why are they not saved now who call upon the name of the Lord? What is said is "Shall be saved". And the Apostle himself adds: "How shall they call upon Him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach unless they be sent? As it is written: How beautiful are the feet of those who preach the gospel of peace and bring tidings of good things"! No one, then, can be saved if he does not pray, and no one can pray who does not first believe. As, therefore, the order is that you should first believe and then pray, there is given to you to-day the Symbol of Faith that you are to believe. After eight days you will get the Prayer that you are to say.

2. The Creed is then the Rule of Faith put briefly so as to instruct the mind without burdening the memory. There are few words, but much to be learned from them. It is called the Symbol, *i.e.*, a token for Christians to know one another by. This is what I will give you first. I shall next, as well as the Lord enables me, explain it to you, so that you may understand what I wish you to keep in mind. This is the Symbol. (And after the Symbol is given out). It is not much and it is much. Don't number the words, but weigh them. *I believe in God the Father Almighty.* See how quickly it is said, and how much it means! He is God and He is Father; God in power, Father in goodness. How happy we are to have found in God a father! Let us, then, believe in Him, and of His loving kindness promise ourselves all things, because He is almighty. We therefore believe in God the Father Almighty. Let no one say: He cannot forgive my sins. How cannot the Almighty? You will say: I have sinned much. And I say: But He is almighty. You repeat: I have committed such sins that I cannot be freed and cleansed from them. And I make answer: He is almighty. See what you sing to Him in the psalm: Bless the Lord, O my soul, and do not forget all His mercies, who forgives all thy iniquities and heals all thy infirmities. For this His omnipotence is needful to us. To every creature it was needful in order that it should

be drawn out of nothing. He is almighty to do big things and little things, things in heaven and things in earth, things that die and things that never die, things spiritual and corporal, visible and invisible. He is great in great things, but not little in the least. Last of all, He is almighty to do whatever He wills. Yet there are things that He can't do : He can't die, He can't do what is wrong, He can't lie, He can't be deceived : so many things that He can't, which if He could He would not be almighty. Believe, then, in Him, and confess Him, for with the heart we believe unto justice, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. So, when you believe, you must confess your faith, when you recite the Creed. Receive now what you are to hold fast, and repeat later on, and never forget.

3. What next ? And in Jesus Christ. *I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord.* If only Son, therefore equal to the Father ; if only Son, therefore of the same substance as the Father ; if only Son, therefore of the same almighty power as the Father ; if only Son, therefore co-eternal with the Father. This is what He is in Himself, and by Himself, and in relation to the Father. And what is He for us, and to us ? *Who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary.* Behold who it is that has come, unto whom, and through whom—through the Virgin Mary, in whom the Holy Ghost wrought, not the man who was her husband. It was the Holy Ghost who made her a mother while still a virgin, and kept her a virgin. So was Christ the Lord clothed with our flesh, so was He who made man Himself made man, taking upon Himself what he was not, not ceasing to be what He was. For the Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us. The Word was not changed into flesh, but remained the Word while He took flesh, always invisible in Himself, He became visible when He willed and dwelt amongst us. What is, *amongst us* ? Among men, made one of the number of men ; Himself one, and the only-begotten of the Father. And to us, what ? To us the only Saviour for no one but He is our Saviour, none but He is our Redeemer, who bought us not with gold and silver, but with His blood.

4. Let us consider the price with which we were bought. After it was said in the Creed that He was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, what was it said that He suffered for us ? There follows : *He was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried.* What ? Our Lord the only Son of God was crucified ? The man in Him was crucified, the God was not changed, was not put to death. And yet, as man, He was slain. If they had known, says the Apostle, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory. He declares Him to be the Lord of glory, but confesses that He was crucified. If a man tears your coat, without hurting you, he does you an injury. Yet you don't cry out to him : you have torn my coat, but you have torn me ; you have torn me in pieces. That is what you say, though you are unhurt yourself ; and you say the truth, though he who did the damage did no harm at all to you. So the Lord Christ was crucified. He is Lord, one with the Father, our Saviour, the Lord of glory. Yet He was crucified, but in the flesh, and He was buried in the body only. For when He was buried, the soul was not there ; the body alone lay in the tomb. And yet you confess Him *Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary.* Who ? Jesus Christ, the only Son of God our Lord. Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate ? Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, our Lord. The body alone lies in the tomb, and do you say " Our Lord " ? I do, plainly. I see the garment of flesh, and I adore Him who is clothed with flesh. That flesh was His garb or habit; while He was in the form of God, He thought it not robbery to be equal to God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, without losing the form of God, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man.

5. Let us not despise the flesh : when He lay in the tomb then He bought us. What did He buy us for ? Because He was not always to

lie in the tomb. For, *the third day He rose again from the dead.* This follows in the Creed. When we confess that He suffered, let us confess that He rose again. What did He do in His passion? He taught us what we have to suffer. What did He do in His resurrection? He showed us what we have to hope. Here toil, there reward; toil in the passion, reward in the resurrection. Nor did He remain here when He rose again. What is next? *He ascended into heaven.* And now where is He? *He sits at the right hand of the Father.* Mark the right hand; see not the left hand there. The right hand of God is eternal happiness, such happiness and well-being as cannot be expressed in words, or measured, or understood. This is the right hand of God: there He sitteth. What does that mean? It means that He abides there: where a person dwells is his abode. When St Stephen saw Him, he who then said, He sits at the right hand of God, did not say what was false. What said Stephen? Behold, I see heaven opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God. Because He saw Him standing, think you that he spoke not the truth who said then, He sits at the right hand of the Father? Of course he spoke the truth. "Sits" therefore signifies remains, abides. How? As you do. In what state? Who shall say? Let us say what He has taught, let us speak of what we know.

6. What then? *Thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead.* Let us confess the Saviour lest we have to fear the Judge. For he who believes in Him now, and keeps His commandments, and loves Him, shall not fear when He comes to judge the living and the dead. Not only shall he not fear, but he shall long for His coming. For what can make us happier than the coming of the one we are longing for, the coming of the one we love? But let us also have His holy fear in us, because He will be our Judge. He will then be our Judge who is now our Advocate. Hear what St John says: "If we say we have not sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. But if we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all iniquity. These things I have written to you that you sin not. But if we sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Just, and He it is who intercedes for us". If you had a suit before a judge, and you retained a lawyer, he would take your cause in hand and plead it to the best of his ability. And if he had not brought it to a close, and you heard that he himself was going to be your judge, how glad you would be to find that he who was before your advocate was now going to be your judge! Now that Christ Himself prays for us and pleads for us, and is our Advocate, shall we fear Him as our Judge? Nay, since we sent Him on to be our Advocate, let us await with confidence His coming as our Judge.

7. We have dealt in the Creed with what appertains to Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, our Lord. There follows, *And in the Holy Ghost,* to complete the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Much has been said of the Son, because He took upon Himself our nature. Not the Father, and not the Holy Ghost, but the Son is the Word who was made flesh. But the whole Trinity made the body of the Son, for the works of the Trinity are inseparable. So, then, believe in the Holy Ghost as not to take Him to be less than the Son nor less than the Father. For the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the whole Trinity, are one God. In them is no separation, nothing that varies, no defect, nothing in one different from what is in the others. Equal always, invisible, unchangeable, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. May the Trinity free us from our many sins!

8. What comes next belongs to us: *In holy Church.* We are holy Church. But I do not mean by "we" just those of us who are here; you who are now listening to me. I mean all who by the mercy of God are true Christians in this congregation, that is, in this city, in this district, in this province, and beyond the sea; all, in short, who are in the world,

for from the rising of the sun to its going down great is the Name of the Lord. Such is the Catholic Church, and true Mother, true Spouse of Him who espoused her! Let us honour her as the spouse of so great a Lord. And, shall I say it? Great and wonderful was the condescension of the Spouse: He found her a harlot, and made her a virgin. That she was a harlot one ought not to deny, lest one should forget the mercy of Him who reclaimed her. How was she not a harlot when she hired herself out to idols and devils? The harlotry of the heart was in all: in a few the harlotry of the flesh, in all that of the heart. He came and made His Church a virgin. In faith she is a virgin: in the flesh she has a few virgins who have taken vows. In faith all that belong to her must be virgins, both men and women. In that there must be chastity, and purity, and sanctity. Would you know how true this is? Hear the Apostle Paul, hear the friend of the Spouse, zealous for the Spouse, not for himself. I have espoused you, he says, to one Man. He was speaking to the Church; he was speaking to all that his Epistle could reach: I have vowed to present you a chaste virgin to one Man, Christ. But I fear, he said, lest, as the Serpent deceived Eve by his cunning, so your minds may be seduced from the chastity which is in Christ. The fear of being seduced betokens you a virgin. Of course, Eve was not known carnally by the Serpent. Yet he robbed her of her virgin heart. This I fear, he said, lest your minds be seduced from the chastity which is in Christ. A virgin, then, the Church is. She is a virgin, let her be a virgin. Let her beware of the seducer lest her virginity be destroyed. A virgin the Church is. Perhaps you will say: If she is a virgin, how does she beget children? And if she doesn't beget children, how have we engaged ourselves to become children and be born of her? I answer: She is a virgin, and yet she begets. She is like Mary, who begot the Lord. Was not holy Mary a virgin, and did she not beget and remain a virgin? So with the Church; she begets and is a virgin. And if you consider rightly, she begets Christ; for it is His members that are baptized. You, says the Apostle, are body of Christ and His members. So the Church, living image of Mary, begets the members of Christ.

9. *In the remission of sins.* If there were not in the Church the remission of sins, there would be no hope, no prospect of the future life and unending happiness. Let us give thanks to God who dowered His Church with this gift. So, you are about to come to the holy fount: Be ye washed in the saving waters of baptism, be renewed with the laver of regeneration. Coming up out of that bath you shall be free from all stain of sin. All the past sins that kept pressing upon you shall be wiped away. Like unto the Egyptians who pursued the Israelites shall be your sins. They will follow you, but only to the Red Sea. What does this signify? Unto the fount that has been consecrated with the Cross of Christ. That which is red shows red. Do you not see how red is the portion of Christ? Look with the eyes of faith. If you see the cross, mark the streams of red; if you see Him hanging there, consider what He shed to the last drop. The heart of Christ was pierced with a lance, and there issued forth the price of our ransom. So your baptism is sealed with the sign of Christ, when you are laved and you cross the Red Sea. Your sins are your enemies; they follow you, but only to the sea. When you enter the waters and pass over, they are wiped out; even as, while the Israelites passed dryshod, the waters engulfed the Egyptians. And what says the Scripture? There was not left of them even one. Many as your sins were or few, grievous or trivial, it is all the same: not one is left. But as we are to live in this world, where no one can be without sin, forgiveness of sins is not obtained solely in the sacrament of baptism, but also in the Lord's Prayer daily, which you are about to receive after eight days. In it you will find, as it were, your daily baptism, that you may give thanks to God who gave you this gift through His Church which we confess in the Creed, adding the remission of sins when we say holy Church.

10. After this, *the resurrection of the flesh.* This is the end. But the end without end will be the resurrection. After it death shall be no more, nor suffering, nor trouble, nor hunger, nor thirst, nor trial, nor weary old age. Do not therefore dread the resurrection (because of that which goes before it). Consider the good that is there, don't think of the evil. Every cause of complaint that we have now will cease then. We shall live for ever, equal to the angels of God, forming one society with the holy angels. We shall belong to the Lord, we shall be His inheritance and He ours, for already we say to Him, the Lord is the portion of my inheritance, and to His Son it was said of us: Ask of me, and I shall give Thee the Gentiles for Thine inheritance. We shall possess and be possessed, we shall have and shall be held. Nay more, we cultivate and are cultivated; we cultivate the God within us, and He cultivates the soil of our hearts. That you may know that we are cultivated, hear what our Lord says: I am the true vine, you are the branches, My Father is the husbandman. If he is a husbandman he is a tiller of the soil. What soil? The soil of our hearts. The farmer on this earth of ours can plough, and dig, and plant, and water, if he find water. But can he make the rain fall, give the increase, bring forth the green blade, make it take root in the earth, stretch up above the ground, strengthen its branches, adorn it with leaves, load it with fruit—can the farmer do this? But our husbandman, the Heavenly Father, can do all this in us. How? Because we believe in God the Father Almighty. Hold fast, then, what we have given you and explained as well as God has given us the grace.

11. At the end of eight days you are to render what to-day you have received. Let your parents, who have you in charge, instruct you so that you may be found ready. Let them also remind you how you are to keep vigil till cockcrow while saying the prayers that you here repeat. The Symbol is now given you to keep it carefully. Let no one be afraid, let no one from fear fail to render it. Be assured. We are fathers, and wield not the ferule and rod of the pedagogue. If any err in word, let him not err in faith.

(This sermon, as we see, was preached to children, for, in the time of Augustine, baptism was long delayed. It is therefore simpler in style, and in thought less profound than sermons 212 and especially 214, which were addressed to grown people.)

APPENDIX II

[The following forms of Western and Eastern Creeds are cited from *The Apostles' Creed*, by H. B. Swete, D.D.]

WESTERN CREEDS

Creed of Cod. Laud. (Bodl. Gr. 35)

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem; et in Christum Iesum[1] Filium eius unicum dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria uirgine, qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in caelos[2], sedet ad dexteram[3] Patris, unde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos; et in Spiritu Sancto, sancta ecclesia, remissione peccatorum, carnis resurrectione[4].

Creed of the Bangor Antiphonary

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, inuisibilem, omnium creaturarum uisibilium et inuisibilium conditorem. Credo et in Iesum Christum Filium eius unicum dominum nostrum, Deum omnipotentem, conceptum de Spiritu Sancto, natum de Maria uirgine, passum sub Pontio Pilato[5]; qui crucifixus et sepultus descendit[6] ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in caelos[7] seditque ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, exinde uenturus[8] iudicare uiuos ac mortuos. Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum, Deum omnipotentem, unam habentem substantiam cum Patre et Filio; sanctum esse ecclesiam[9] catholicam, abremissa[10] peccatorum, sanctorum communionem[11] carnis resurrectionem; credo uitam post mortem et uitam aeternam in gloria Christi. Haec omnia credo in Deum. Amen.

Creed of the C. C. C. MS. 468 (saec. xv)

Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς· καὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν συλληφθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας[12] τῆς[13] παρθένου, παθόντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, σταυρωθέντα, θανόντα[14], καὶ ταφέντα, κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ κατώτατα· τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καθιζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ θεοῦ πατρὸς παντοδυνάμου· ἐκεῖθεν ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, πιστεύω εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἁγίων κοινωνίαν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, ζωὴν αἰώνιον. ἀμήν.

[The above is a transliteration from the Roman characters.]

Creed of Nicetas

(saec. v)

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Filium eius Iesum Christum, natum ex Spiritu Sancto et ex Maria uirgine, sub Pontio Pilato passum crucifixum et mortuum. Tertia die resurrexit uiuus a mortuis, ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris, inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et

[1] cod *xpo ihu.* [2] Cod. *caelis.* [3] Cod. *dextera.*
[4] Cod. *resurrectionis.* [5] Cod. *pylato.* [6] Cod. *discendit.*
[7] Cod. *caelis.* [8] Cod. *uenturum.* [9] Cod. *aecclesiam.*
[10] Cod. *abremisa.* [11] Cod. *commonionem.* [12] Cod. Μαρειας vid.
[13] Cod. την vid. [14] Cod. θανεντα vid.

mortuos. Et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, communionem sanctorum, in remissionem peccatorum, huius carnis resurrectionem, et in vitam aeternam.

Creed of Aquileia (Rufin. *in symb.*)

(saec. iv)

Credo in Deo Patre omnipotente, inuisibili et impassibili ; et in Christo Iesu, unico Filio eius domino nostro, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria uirgine, crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus descendit in inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris ; inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos. Et in Spiritu Sancto ; sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, huius carnis resurrectionem.

Creed of the Prymer (cent. xiv)

(Maskell, *Monumenta ritualia*, ii, 177)

I bileue in god, fadir almyȝti, makere of heuene and of erthe : and in iesu crist the sone of him, oure lord, oon aloone : which is conceyued of the hooli gost : born of marie maiden : sufiride passioun undir pounce pilat : crucified, deed, and biried : he wente doun to hellis : the thridde day he roos aȝen fro deede : he steiȝ to heuenes : he sittith on the riȝt syde of god the fadir almyȝti : thenus he is to come for to deme the quyke and deede. I bileue in the hooli goost : feith of hooli chirche : communynge of seyntis : forȝyuenesses of synnes : aȝenrisyng of fleish, and euerlastynge lyf. so be it.

EASTERN CREEDS

Creed of Marcellus (Epiph. *haer.* lxxii, 3)

Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, Καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν, Τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου, Τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα Καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, Ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός, Ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, Ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, Ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, Σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, Ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

The Nicene Faith

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα εἰς οὐρανούς, καὶ ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

Early Creed of Jerusalem

(Collected from Cyril)

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων· καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρός, καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος· καὶ εἰς ἓν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ λαλῆσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις· καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Creed of Constantinople

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων· καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρός, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος· καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ κύριον τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν· εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. ἀμήν.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF AUTHORITIES CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE PRESENT VOLUME

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